THE

HISTORIANS OF SCOTLAND.

VOL. X.

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VOL. X.

The Book of Pluscarden.

EDINBURGH
WILLIAM PATERSON
1880

The Book
of
Pluscarden

EDITED BY

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VOL. II.

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INTRODUCTION.

The fifteenth century dawned in France upon a scene of the most deplorable anarchy and wretchedness. The hundred years' war with England was fast drawing to its climax of disaster for France. The spirit of patriotism which such a war might have aroused had been crushed by the misrule of a line of incapable kings. The people, ground down by the constant exactions of the crown, and driven to desperation by the tyranny of the nobles, had repeatedly risen in revolts characterised by the most brutal atrocities, and these again had been suppressed with relentless cruelty. During the brief intervals of truce companies of disbanded soldiers scoured the country, committing the most frightful crimes, and living upon the plunder of the defenceless peasantry. To crown all, the madness of King Charles VI. led to a struggle for the reins of government between the parties of Burgundy and Armagnac, which plunged the country into the horrors of a civil war stained with mutual treachery and assassination.

The capture of Rouen by the English after a stubborn resistance seemed for a moment to rouse what national spirit remained in France. The rival factions consented to forego their differences and make common cause against the foreign invader. But the treacherous murder of the duke of Burgundy at Montereau by the Armagnacs soon put an end to all hopes of such a result, and threw the Burgundian party openly into the arms of England. The only hope for France now lay in the Dauphin Charles, who had cast in his lot with the Armagnacs. The resources at his command within the country

were miserably inadequate to the task of making head against the formidable alliance of the English and Burgundians, who, between them, were in possession of a great part of France; and his proscription for the murder of the duke of Burgundy deprived him of much of the support he might have counted upon from the remainder, impoverished and exhausted though it was. In his extremity, despairing of help at home, he sought it abroad. The attachment of Valentine de Milan, duchess of Orleans, to his cause, procured him a contingent of Lombards, and the long-continued friendship between France and Scotland, combined with their common hostility towards England, led him, as the champion of France, to hope for help from the Scots. Accordingly, in 1420,[1] he sent the comte de Vendôme on an embassy to Scotland, to beg assistance in terms of the ancient league.[2]

The Dauphin could not have chosen a more fitting time for his request. For some years the duke of Albany, at the head of affairs in Scotland, had pursued a policy of peace and friendship with England. The English king, fully occupied with his war with France, was anxious to secure the neutrality of Scotland; and in King James I. and Murdach Stewart, Albany's son, who had been taken prisoner at Homildon, he held a twofold pledge of peace; for Albany, equally afraid of the king of England putting an end to his regency by releasing James I., and desirous of obtaining his own son's freedom, had a double reason for wishing to conciliate him. Thus, during a long interval of peace, a generation of young Scotsmen had grown up, fired with the traditions of their fathers' warlike deeds, yet lacking an oppor-

[1] Bower places this embassy in 1419.

[2] George Buchanan's *History of Scotland*. Juvenal des Ursins (*Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, etc.*, by M. M. Michaud et Poujoulat, Paris, 1836, vol. ii. p. 546) states that Sir William Douglas and one whom he calls "messire Thomas Quelsatry" came to France in 1418 to serve the Dauphin.

tunity of emulating them. The opportunity now offered itself. Albany, since his son's release four years before, was more inclined to break with England. In case of war, Henry would see the advantage of keeping James in his power, and thus Albany's authority was secured. Moreover, he was glad to give employment to the restless spirits around him; and, by shifting the battle-ground to France, he would avert the horrors of war from his own country. France indeed had long been the favourite resort of soldiers of fortune, and the free companies had made it the acknowledged field of those who sought gain or distinction by the sword. A body of 7000[1] men was therefore readily voted by the Scottish Estates, and sent to France under the command of John earl of Buchan, Albany's second son, accompanied by Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigtown, eldest son of the earl of Douglas, Sir Thomas Seton and Sir John Stewart of Darnley. Their headquarters were fixed at Chatillon, and they soon gained many successes over the English.

The first serious encounter, however, was at Baugé, in Anjou, in the year 1421. The duke of Clarence, left in command of the English forces during Henry's temporary absence in England, proposed to lay siege to the castle of Baugé with 10,000 men. Thereupon Buchan, with 7000 Scots and Frenchmen, marched to Le Lude, four miles off, to give him battle. As, however, it was Good Friday, they agreed to put off fighting until after Easter, and fixed upon a time and place for the battle.[2] Notwithstanding this, Clarence attempted to surprise the Scots during the truce, but was gallantly repulsed and killed. The description of the battle given in the Book of Pluscarden agrees in the main with the other accounts[3] of it. Our Chronicle, however, is the only authority for a statement concerning the death

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[1] Our author says 10,000.
[2] *Juvenal des Ursins*, p. 564.
[3] *Ibid.*, Bower, Monstrelet, Berry's *History of Charles VII.* (Alain Chartier), George Buchanan.

of the duke of Clarence, who, according to Bower, followed by Buchanan, was wounded in the face by Sir William Swinton's lance, and despatched by the earl of Buchan with a mace. The Book of Pluscarden gives the following account :—"The common report was that a highland Scot named Alexander Makcaustelayn (Macausland), a native of Lennox, of the household of the lord of Buchan (Buchanan), killed the said duke of Clarence; for, in token thereof, the aforesaid Macausland brought with him to camp a golden coronet of the finest gold and adorned with precious stones, which was found on his helmet upon his head in the field; and he sold it for a thousand nobles to the lord Darnley, who afterwards left that coronet to Robert Houston in pledge for five thousand nobles he owed him."[1]

Buchanan of Auchmar[2] states that the Macausland referred to here was Sir Alexander Buchanan, eldest son of John, son of Sir Walter, eleventh laird of Buchanan; and he adduces as evidence the fact that after the battle of Baugé there was added to the arms of Buchanan "a second tressure round the field, flowered and counterflowered, with flower-de-luces of the second, and in a crest a hand coupee holding a duke's coronet, with two laurel branches wreathed round the same; which addition was retained by the family of Buchanan in all time thereafter."[3]

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[1] See page 268 of this volume. This is the passage quoted by George Buchanan, which identifies our Chronicle as the Book of Pluscarden. Buchanan says :—"This which I have just stated is the more common report of the death of Clarence. But the Book of Pluscarden relates that he was killed by Alexander Macelselan, a knight of Lennox, . . . ; and it says that this was then the more common report."

[2] *An Inquiry into the Genealogy and present state of Ancient Scottish Surnames, with the Origin and Descent of the Highland Clans and Family of Buchanan*, by William Buchanan of Auchmar. Glasgow, 1820.

[3] *Ib.* p. 227. Probably the expression "de familia domini de Buchania," or "Bouchane," as it stands in the Glasgow MS., should be translated "of the family of the laird of Buchanan," as the chronicler always speaks of the earl of Buchan as "comes Buchaniæ." Even in that case, however, the expression would be more applicable to "a cadet of the family of the Lairds of Buchanan" (see Preface to vol. i. p. xxii.) than to Sir Alexander Buchanan, eldest son of the laird.

The account Buchanan of Auchmar gives of Sir Alexander's family is briefly as follows. In consequence of a general massacre of the Danes in Ireland in the beginning of the eleventh century, Anselan Buey (or Fair) Okyan, son to Okyan provincial king of the southern part of Ulster, being implicated therein, fled to Scotland. He came over in 1016, landed on the northern coast of Argyll, near the Lennox, and served with distinction under King Malcolm II. against the Danes. In reward for his services he was given several estates, among which were Pitwhonidy and Strathyre. He married one of the Denniestouns, a family of consequence in the Lennox, and she brought him part of the estate of Buchanan. Malcolm granted him arms, which remained unchanged until the addition made to them after the battle of Baugé.

The seventh from this first laird of Buchanan was Anselan, chamberlain to Malduin earl of Lennox, from whom he obtained a charter of the island of Clareinch (Clarines) in Lochlomond in 1225.[1] This island was the "slugorn," or call of war, proper to the family. His son Gilbert was the first who assumed the name of Buchanan.

The tenth laird, Sir Maurice, joined the earl of Lennox and the laird of Luss in their patriotic resistance to the English, and refused to sign the Ragman Roll. "There is a traditional account that King Robert Bruce, after his defeat at Dalree, near Strathfillan, by Macdougal, lord of Lorn, and his adherents, came all alone, on foot, along the north side of Lochlomond (being the most rugged way of any other of this kingdom), the day after that battle, to the castle of Buchanan, where being joyfully received and for some days entertained, he was

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[1] Auchmar mentions this charter as the oldest he had himself seen, the earlier part of his account of the family being based on hearsay. This is likewise the earliest of the Buchanan charters among the muniments of the Duke of Montrose, reported upon by Mr. William Fraser in the appendix to the Third Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 386; and Auchmar's account is generally borne out by those authentic charters, which are numbered 4, 5, 22, 28, 29, and 30 in Mr. Fraser's Report.

secretly conveyed by the earl of Lennox and Buchanan to a place of safety. This report is the more probable in regard there is a cave near the shore of Lochlomond, in Buchanan parish, termed the King's Cave, it being reported that King Robert lay over night in that cave in his journey towards Buchanan."[1]

The grandson of this Sir Maurice was John, who never succeeded to the Buchanan property, as he died before his father Sir Walter. John married the heiress of Lenny, and had three sons. The eldest, Sir Alexander, according to Auchmar, was the hero of Baugé, and was killed at Verneuil. He died unmarried. The second was Sir Walter, who succeeded to the Buchanan estate; and the third, John of Ballachondachy, succeeded to Lenny.

Sir Walter, the second son, married Isobel, daughter of Murdach duke of Albany and Isobel heiress of Lennox,[2] and had three sons, Patrick, his successor, Maurice and Thomas. The second son was the Maurice Buchanan who was treasurer to the Princess Margaret, daughter of King James I. and wife of the dauphin Louis, afterwards Louis XI., and who accompanied her to France.[3] He had, however, already been in France with Sir John Stewart of Darnley, the constable of the Scots in France, who is mentioned as his kinsman.[4]

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[1] This Maurice is spoken of as Maurice of Bouchannane in a charter to him by King David II. (No. 28 in Mr. Fraser's Report), and is said by Auchmar to have witnessed a charter as "Maurice Macausland, dominus, or laird, of Buchanan."

[2] Auchmar says this is attested by a charter of 1443 by Isobel duchess of Albany, which is witnessed by, amongst others, Walter laird of Buchanan, her son-in-law, knight.

[3] Goodall's *Bower*, 1759, vol. ii. p. 485.

[4] See vol. i. Preface, pp. xx, xxi. Murdach married Isobel Lennox in 1392, and their daughter Isobel, even if their eldest child, could hardly have married Sir Walter Buchanan before 1410. If Maurice was her second son, he could not have been born before 1412 or 1413 at the earliest, and could hardly have been spoken of as *Maitre* Morice de Boconan in 1427. Besides, Isobel duchess of Albany is stated to have outlived all her children, who all died without issue. Therefore, if Sir Walter Buchanan did really marry Isobel, daughter of the duchess of Albany, his three sons must have been the fruit of a previous marriage, and Maurice must have been the stepson of Stewart of Darnley's niece by marriage. This connection would probably warrant his having been called the "parent dudit connetable."

Now the anonymous author of the Book of Pluscarden tells us in his Prologue[1] that the task he had undertaken was to prepare an abridgment of Bower's Chronicle, adding thereto such facts of contemporary history as he could ascertain, "together with some other wonderful things which I who write have known, seen and heard out of this country;[2] as also, lastly, about a certain marvellous maid who brought about the recovery of the kingdom of France out of the hands of the tyrant Henry king of England, and whom I saw and knew, and in whose company I was: I was present during her endeavours for the said recovery up to her life's end," etc. Again, in speaking of the Dauphiness, the Princess Margaret of Scotland,[3] who went to France in 1436 and died there in 1445, he says, "I who write this saw her every day alive, playing with the king and queen of France, and going on thus for nine years. But afterwards, at the time of the contracting of the marriage between Henry of England and the daughter of the king of Sicily, brother of the queen of France, within eight days I saw her in good health and dead and embowelled," etc.

Thus the passages in the Book of Pluscarden for which the author seems to claim original authority, and in which he departs the most from Bower's account, are those relating the incidents connected with the Scottish expedition to France in 1420, down to the death of Joan of Arc in 1431, and with the life and death of the Princess Margaret there from 1436 to 1445. If, therefore, as is assumed in this edition, the author was Maurice Buchanan, the stepson of the niece of the Earl of Buchan and Sir John Stewart of Darnley, and the treasurer of the dauphiness, his position and opportunities for obtaining accurate information give these portions of his work a high value as authentic history.[4]

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[1] See this vol. p. 3.

[2] Namely, in France.

[3] See p. 288 of this volume.

[4] There are some difficulties, however, in the way of accepting concurrently Auchmar's account and the theory that the Book of Pluscarden was written

To return, however, to the fortunes of the Scots in France. After the battle of Baugé, we next hear of the Scots as preparing to dispute the passage of the English over the river Loire in 1422,[1] an enterprise which the latter, however, abandoned on hearing of the death of Henry v. Then Buchan, who had been made constable of France, took Gallardon, Avranches, and several other places in the north-west of France, and towards the end of the year went to Scotland for reinforcements. He returned to France early in the following year, accompanied by Archibald earl of Douglas and his younger son James (William earl of Wigtown, the elder son, being left at home sick), and bringing a fresh contingent of ten thousand men.[2] Meanwhile Sir John Stewart of Darnley, on his way to reinforce some French troops which had been driven into Mouson by Salisbury, turned aside to attack Crevant; but not being prepared for a

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by Maurice Buchanan. In the first place, according to Auchmar, Maurice Buchanan and his brothers were probably the stepsons of the daughter of Murdach duke of Albany and Isobel heiress of Lennox, and the fact of this connection is supported by the mention of Maurice Buchanan as kinsman to Sir John Stewart of Darnley, who had married Elizabeth, the younger sister of Isobel of Lennox. But it is hard to reconcile it with the meagre terms in which Maurice Buchanan, if indeed he be our author, speaks of the execution of Murdach duke of Albany and his sons; for the Chronicle was written in 1461, when there probably remained no political reasons for reticence in an author speaking of distinguished men so nearly related to him. Another point of difficulty is the expression which the author uses in describing the Macausland who killed the duke of Clarence at Baugé. If Auchmar is right in saying it was Sir Alexander Buchanan, and if Maurice is the author, then he is speaking of his own uncle and the eldest son of the head of his own house, when he says (vol. i. p. 356), "quidam Scotus montanus, Alexander Makcaustelayn nominatus, de Levenax oriundus, de familia domini de Buchania" (Buchanan). The expression is strangely inappropriate to the supposed facts of the case, and points rather to the probability that either the author, whether Maurice the Treasurer or not, was not the nephew of Sir Alexander, or the Macausland referred to was not Sir Alexander, but perhaps a certain M'Beth, Baron M'Auselan, whom Auchmar mentions as "a person of uncommon stature and strength, who seems to have been a contemporary of Sir Alexander." Auchmar states that the Barons M'Auselan were a younger branch of the family, descended from the second son of the first Anselan.

[1] Alain Chartier (Berry), ed. 1594, p. 41.

[2] Jean Chartier (*Hist. de Charles VII.*, 1661, p. 7) says four to five thousand, and George Buchanan five thousand, though the latter places this expedition before the death of Henry in 1422.

siege, and being refused the siege train he had repeatedly asked the king to supply him with, he was unable to take it. Thereupon Salisbury hastened up to relieve the town, and gave battle to the Scots under its walls.[1] The two armies were separated by the river Yonne, the Scots occupying a hill near the river, with Crevant in the rear. The Scots and French, departing from the tactics that had proved so successful at Baugé, allowed the English to cross the river without opposition. The English attack in front was supported by a sortie from the town in the rear, and Darnley and Severac were totally defeated. The greater part of the Scots, who numbered about 3000 and were in the front ranks, were either killed or taken, and several gentlemen of note, to the number of 400, were made prisoners, among them being Stewart of Darnley.[2]

The next great battle in which the Scots took part was that of Verneuil in 1424. Ivry, in Perche, had been besieged by the duke of Bedford, and had agreed to surrender unless relieved by a certain day. The Scots under Douglas, who had been made duke of Touraine and lieutenant-general of the king of France, and the French under d'Aumale and Narbonne, hurried up to relieve it, but arrived too late. They, however, occupied Verneuil, and the French leaders prudently proposed to avoid a pitched battle with the English, but to leave a garrison there and employ their forces in less hazardous undertakings. The Scots, on the other hand, were bent upon fighting, and Bedford's approach soon put an end to the dispute.[3] Bedford despatched a herald to Douglas with a message that he was coming to drink with him, and begging him to stay that they

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[1] Alain Chartier (Berry), pp. 47-9.

[2] Monstrelet. Jean Chartier's account is slightly different. He says the English were besieging Crevant, and Darnley and Severac were defeated in an attempt to succour the town. It is remarkable that the chronicler of Pluscarden, if Darnley's kinsman, should give no account of the battle in which his kinsman commanded and was taken prisoner. Bower (ii. 501) states that Darnley lost an eye, and was ransomed for 30,000 crowns.

[3] Jean Chartier.

might drink together. Douglas replied that he was most welcome, for he had come from Scotland to look for him in France, as he had not been able to find him in England; and that he was to make haste and come. The dispute in the allied army, however, had led to ill-feeling. Contrary to the orders of Douglas, who wished to await the advance of the English, Narbonne rushed out on foot to attack them, and Douglas, fearing the result of his rashness, was obliged to hurry up to support him. Thus the Scots and French were out of breath when they reached the enemy, who had been quietly waiting for them;[1] and though victory hung in the balance for some time, the English finally remained masters of the field. The battle is very fully described in the text, and all the authorities agree very nearly in the accounts they give of it.[2] The allied army lost between three and four thousand men,[3] and Douglas, Buchan, James Douglas, Alexander Lindsay, Robert Stewart and Thomas Swinton were among the slain.[4]

The battle of Verneuil may be said to have annihilated the Scots in France, though some few still remained under the command of Sir John Stewart of Darnley; and we hear of them at intervals during the next few years as taking part in the gradual liberation of the country from the yoke of England.

The following year after this decisive battle Charles VII. sent Darnley and the archbishop of Rheims to Scotland to ask the hand of the Princess Margaret for the Dauphin; and these ambassadors, after having successfully fulfilled their mission, returned to France with a reinforcement of 4000 men.[5]

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1 Alain Chartier (Berry), pp. 49-50.

2 Bower (ii. 463) states that, early in the battle, when fortune was declaring against the English, they were only prevented from surrendering by having learnt that Douglas had ordered his men to give no quarter.

3 Jean Chartier. George Buchanan says about 2000.

4 George Buchanan. Auchmar states that Sir Alexander Buchanan was killed here.

5 Berry (Alain Chartier) says that in 1424 Douglas and the Archbishop of Rheims brought 4000 men from Scotland. He mentions this expedition before the battle of Verneuil, and evidently mixes up the embassy of Darnley

We next hear of the Scots in France as joining the French under the Sire d'Orval and Dunois, the bastard of Orleans, in raising the siege of Montargis in 1426. The constable Darnley was not with them on this occasion. He was at Jargeau when the news reached him, and was much incensed at his troops having acted without his orders.[1]

The final catastrophe, however, in this ill-starred expedition was the death of Sir John Stewart of Darnley in 1429, at the Battle of the Herrings. He had been sent with 20,000 men to intercept a convoy of provisions which lord Talbot was bringing from Paris to supply the English besiegers of Orleans. Darnley[2] fell in with the convoy at the village of Estrée Saint Denis in Beauce on the 12th of February 1428-9. The English entrenched themselves behind their wagons, and the French, under the duc de Bourbon, proposed to surround them and starve them into surrender. Darnley, however, dismounting, attacked them at once, and was killed in an attempt to rescue his brother William, who also lost his life. The French meanwhile stood aloof, still mounted, and gave the Scots no assistance; and the English gained a complete victory.

Thus ends this episode of Scottish history. The Scots came over to the assistance of France when her fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and on them for many years lay the chief burden of the task of achieving her independence. Indeed it was only when a more powerful arm than theirs, that of the inspired Maid of Orleans, was ready to take up the cause they had so long upheld, that the life of the last of this brave band was required of him. The family of Darnley, as lords of Aubigny, still individually kept up their connection with France for

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and the Archbishop in 1425 with the first arrival of Douglas with some troops in 1423, a mistake made also by G. Crawfurd (*Hist. of the Stewarts*), who says Darnley, *Douglas* and the Archbishop were sent to Scotland on this embassy, and that 4000 men were sent out in 1426.

[1] Berry.

[2] Berry speaks of him as having just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre.

many generations, and rose to the highest distinction in her service; but the record of the enterprise which had so largely enlisted the sympathies of the Scots as a nation was closed by the death of the Constable in 1429.

The next passage of Scottish history with regard to which the chronicler of Pluscarden claims to be an original authority is the marriage of the Princess Margaret to the Dauphin Louis. As already stated, this marriage was arranged in 1425. The contract was signed at Perth on the 19th of July 1428, and was ratified at Chinon on the 30th of October following.[1] The Dauphin was only five years old at that time, and the Princess a few months younger; and for the next eight years the English did all in their power to frustrate the alliance. They sent Lord Scroop over to Scotland to ask the hand of the Princess for Henry VI.;[2] they offered to enter into a league of perpetual amity with the king of Scotland; and they proposed to give up to him Roxburgh, Berwick, and several other places. These proposals were laid by King James before the Estates. The clergy indeed were divided in their opinions; but the nobles decided against the English offers, and their view was adopted by the king.[3] At length, in 1436, the Princess, then only thirteen[4] years of age, embarked at Dumbarton, and set sail for France to join her future husband. She was escorted by the Bishop of Brechin, Sir Walter Ogilvy the king's Treasurer, Sir Herbert Harris, Sir John Maxwell of Calderwood, Sir John Campbell of Loudon, Sir Thomas Colville, Sir John Wishart and many other barons, together with master John Stewart provost of Methven, and Maurice Buchanan, Treasurer to the Dauphiness, clerics, and 150 youthful squires and a guard of 1000 men-at-arms, in a fleet of three large ships

[1] The dowry of the Dauphiness was to be only 12,000 livres, but 3000 livres were added when the contract was ratified by Charles VII. Duclos, *Hist. of Louis XI.*

[2] G. Crawfurd's *Genealogical Hist. of the Stewarts*, Edin. 1710, p. 23.

[3] Duclos, *Hist. of Louis XI.*

[4] The Book of Pluscarden says ten.

and six barges,[1] under the command of Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney. Some English ships came out to intercept her, but went off in pursuit of a Flemish fleet of merchantmen laden with wine from Rochelle, which they captured, though they were afterwards engaged and defeated by a Spanish fleet, and were forced to surrender their prizes. Meanwhile, however, the Scottish fleet sailed into Rochelle unmolested, and the Princess landed at Neville Priory, where she was received by Reginald de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishop of Poitiers and Xaintonge.

Margaret then at once proceeded to Tours, where the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Rheims. Jean Chartier, the historiographer of Charles VII., gives a very minute and graphic account of her reception :—

"In the same year, 1436, on Sunday, the 24th day of June, the day and feast of St. John the Baptist, the Lady Margaret, daughter of James king of Scotland, entered the city of Tours as Dauphiness, with a brilliant and distinguished suite, and was received with great honour by the townsfolk. She was mounted on a most richly caparisoned palfrey, and behind her came Madame de la Roche the elder on another palfrey, and likewise many other dames and damsels of Scotland. Then followed two chariots full of other ladies and damsels.

"When the said Dauphiness was at the entrance of the town, the Sires de Maillé and de Gamaches came on foot to meet her, and took the said lady's palfrey by the bridle, one on one side and the other on the other, and thus escorted she reached the castle, where she dismounted. Then my lord of Vendôme on one side and an earl of Scotland on the other took her and brought her to the castle, within the hall, where were the queen of France, the queen of Sicily, my lady Radegonde, the king's daughter, my lady of Vendôme, and many other

[1] Bower, vol. ii. p. 485. G. Crawfurd says forty-six ships. The Book of Pluscarden says there were 3000 men-at-arms—vol. ii. p. 282.

lords, ladies and damsels. The queen of Sicily and my lady Radegonde came to the end of the hall to meet her, and took her, one on one side and the other on the other, and led her thus before the queen, who was seated in front of a large draped bench, and who, when she saw her coming, rose and went forward four or five steps to meet her, and took and kissed her. Meanwhile my lord the Dauphin, who was in his chamber below, came into this hall with a good following of knights and squires; and as soon as the said lady, who had come to be his wife and bride, heard that he was coming into the hall, she went to meet him, and they kissed and embraced each other and came back to the queen. Afterwards they all went together to the queen's chamber, which was handsomely draped and decorated, and there they amused themselves until supper time. The great hall was all most richly hung with tapestry from top to bottom, besides four chambers in like manner hung with cloth of gold and tapestry hangings. The day after the said feast of St. John the Baptist the king arrived at Tours, and was present in person at the blessing of my lord the Dauphin and the said lady Margaret of Scotland. The king that day had on no other dress than that he rode in; but my lord the Dauphin was clad in royal apparel, as was also the said lady his bride; and the queen was attired in the morning in a robe of dark grey (*perse*) velvet, all covered with large sprigs of goldsmiths' work, which were very rich and beautiful. There was a great quantity of instruments of music.

"Renaud de Chartres, archbishop of Rheims, chancellor of France, married the said lord and lady, and these nuptials were held as a high holiday and festival in that city of Tours.

"Immediately after mass was celebrated by that archbishop, the king, accompanied by the queen, the newly-married couple and many lords, squires, dames and damsels, came where dinner was to be served, and they sat down to dinner in the following order. First sat the said archbishop, who had celebrated the

mass. The second was the king; then came my lady the Dauphiness; then the queen of Sicily; the queen of France was fifth, and my lady of Vendôme sixth; and thus this table was complete. I need not speak of the dinner. There was great store of all the viands it was possible to find, with side dishes, and plenty of trumpets, clarions, minstrelsy, lutes and psalteries. Heralds and pursuivants also were there in great numbers, and, truth to say, there was great good cheer made."[1]

We have very few notices of the Princess's short and unhappy married life. She seems to have been much neglected by her husband, who was engaged in the work of recovering his father's kingdom; though the chronicler of Pluscarden[2] speaks of the affection in which she was held by the king and queen, and even by her husband, and of the influence she had acquired over them by her consummate tact and wisdom. She is mentioned by contemporary historians as having been present at Nanci in 1444, at the festivities on the occasion of Margaret of Anjou leaving for England to be married to Henry VI.; and she died the following year, on the 16th of August, when only twenty-two.

The circumstances of this pathetic event are given by Duclos in his *History of Louis XI.*:—[3]

"Whilst the Court was at Nanci, Jametz du Tillay, bailiff of Vermandois, went one evening to the palace of the Dauphiness. She had with her the Sieur de Mainville, and another person who stood at some little distance. The chamber had no other light in it but the blaze of a large fire. Du Tillay said that it was a shame (*paillardie*) they should leave madame the Dauphiness so. This discourse was repeated and ill-construed, though Du Tillay afterwards excused himself by

[1] Jean Chartier, *Hist. de Charles VII.*, 1661, p. 91.

[2] See this volume, p. 288.

[3] It is remarkable that Jean Chartier, who describes Margaret's marriage in such detail, says not a word about her death. It was probably a sore subject at the French Court.

saying that he never meant to blame any other than the princess's servants for their negligence in not lighting up her apartments. However, as he was a person of very little judgment, a great talker, and very indiscreet, a kind of men to be dreaded even by their friends, he cast several odious reflections upon the ladies who attended on the Dauphiness, and particularly on the demoiselles de Salignac, Pregente and Fillotte. What he began by indiscretion he further carried on by treachery; it is even said that he caused several anonymous letters filled with calumnies to be written to the king. The king showed by his silence that he despised them, and would have had them concealed from the knowledge of the Dauphiness. She was long the subject of discourse without knowing it, but at last these reproachful speeches reached her ears, and gave her a great deal of trouble.[1] However, instead of seeking to gratify her revenge, she lamented in secret, and sought for consolation in religion. One hot day, walking from the castle of Sarry, near Châlons, to the church of Notre Dame de l'Epine, she was seized with a pleurisy which, being added to her former grief, carried her off in a few days. During her illness she made continual protestations of her innocence against the calumnies of *that honest man*, as she called Du Tillay.

"The confessor of this unhappy princess found a good deal of difficulty to prevail upon her to pardon her calumniator, and her last words were, 'Out upon life! talk of it to me no more.'[2] She was interred in the cathedral church of Châlons, and four-and-thirty years after, by order of Louis XI., was translated to Tours, where she was deposited in a chapel which herself had founded.[3]

[1] The words of Du Tillay, which killed her, are said to have been, "Avez vous point vu cette dame là? Elle a mieux manière d'une paillarde que d'une grande maitresse."—PINKERTON.

[2] The princess on her deathbed could hardly be persuaded to pardon him, saying, "Now he has gained his purpose."—PINKERTON.

[3] She was transferred, on 13th December 1479, to a chapel in the abbey of S. Laon at Tours (Duclos, vol. ii. p. 272). The chronicler of Pluscarden,

"This princess was generally regretted. The clamours against Du Tillay were so great that the king was obliged by letters-patent (dated May 27, 1446) to appoint Tudert, master of the requests, and Thiboust, counsellor in parliament, to inform against him. The queen even suffered herself to be interrogated, the only difference between her interrogation and that of the other witnesses being that she was not examined upon oath, and was interrogated by the chancellor, Juvenal des Ursins, assisted by William Cousinot, master of the requests. Her Majesty's deposition is still in being with the other informations, which charges Du Tillay, if not with downright calumny, at least with a great deal of indiscretion. Reginald du Dresnay, Louis de Laval, and several others, apprehending these procedures to be injurious to the memory of the Dauphiness, would have vindicated her honour by a duel, but Charles VII. would not admit of it; he even prohibited all those who had distinguished themselves too warmly upon this occasion from coming to court; and thus the matter was stifled."[1]

Duclos places the character of this gentle princess[2] in a most amiable light. He says, "Ingenuity and judgment, noble sentiments and great good-nature, were all united in this princess; and these extraordinary endowments, which gained her universal admiration, were further set off with a graceful person, which rendered them amiable. To be virtuous was the

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from his intimate connection with the Dauphiness, would certainly have been aware of this event, and would have mentioned it in the version of his Chronicle written in 1489, if that had been by his own hand. As, however, such is not the case, but, on the contrary, where the chronicler speaks of her burial at Châlons (vol. ii. p. 288), he merely adds, "and the king said that after a little while he would have her taken up and placed in Saint Denis, among all the kings and queens there," it is most probable that he died before 1479; and if his death occurred while he was engaged on his Chronicle, the first version of which bears date 1461, that might account for the unfinished state of the chapter on Joan of Arc, which he may have left to the last.

[1] Duclos, *Hist. of Louis XI.*, London, 1746, vol. i. pp. 36, 37.

[2] Monstrelet speaks of her as a "belle et bonne dame."

proper means of making court to her; whoever deserved her favour was sure to obtain it; and it oft sufficed to stand in need of it. Being informed that a certain knight, who distinguished himself in a tournament, wanted those assistances of fortune which are always needful to merit, she sent him a present of 300 crowns, a very large sum at that time of day, and for a princess who often wanted necessaries. She was passionately fond of learning.[1] One day, seeing Alain Chartier asleep, she gave him a kiss, and observing the people about her to stand in amaze, she said it was not the man she had kissed, but the mouth that had uttered such fine discourses."

It would thus appear that her easy affability and frank friendliness towards those who courted her favour, and a certain romantic disregard of conventionalities fostered by her assiduous devotion to poetry, left her an easy prey to ill-natured calumny, under which her sensitive constitution, enfeebled by excessive study, rendered her unable to bear up; though all agree in paying a loyal tribute to the sterling worth and purity of her character.

The only other point upon which our author seems to promise us original matter is the episode of Joan of Arc. The chapter[2] concerning her, however, breaks off after a few lines, and it is probable that he never lived to finish it.[3]

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[1] One of the remarks made upon her by Du Tillay was that her illness arose from her sitting up all night making rondeaux and ballads.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 277. [3] See p. xxiv., note 3.

THE BOOK OF PLUSCARDEN.

THE WRITER'S PREFACE.

In recalling to mind the praiseworthy deeds of the great men of the past, not only do we profit the men of our day by rehearsing events of interest which have taken place; nay, we also, by the lantern of truth, as it were, show wayfarers the path of virtue through the example of able men of yore; and, while we commemorate their merits, afford the fortunate in time to come a noble opportunity of following in the footsteps of their revered ancestors. As, then, in all human actions and work a foundation of truth (which is God, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy) must first and before all be traced, and be preferred to all carnal affections, we ought, with all care and quenchless diligence, unweariedly to aspire after the same with our whole might. For, where truth itself is not the foundation, there cannot the edifice of any good work be raised. Man's intellect, however, could not reach unto the acquisition of a clear knowledge of this truth by the light of nature, without God's grace supernaturally poured into it. Let us, therefore, ask it of the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good gift and perfect gift from above, for He alone giveth wisdom, and out of His mouth is knowledge and understanding; beseeching, with the holy Solomon, and saying, "Lord, give me Wisdom, that sitteth by thy throne; that, being present, she may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasing in thy sight" at all times; for he prayed, and understanding was given him; he called upon God, and the spirit of

wisdom came unto him. To the obtaining of which grace let Him deign to lead us, who liveth and reigneth without end. Amen.

The same continued.

Moreover, let us give glory to God in the highest, praise after death to those all-conquering and invincible Scotsmen that are no more, and magnify and honour those living ones who worthily and nobly hold, guard and occupy the illustrious throne of Scotland amid such changes in the world, such disasters and harassings, such defeats, battles and warlike exploits, such indescribable assaults by tyrants, likewise such infamous acts of deceit and treachery by traitors: notwithstanding all which, the royal house of Scotland has occupied it with honour and freedom from 330 years and more before Christ's Incarnation to the present day, without change of nationality or subjection of the king's majesty. With what praises, therefore, I may mention these men, I know not; but I set myself to give thanks without ceasing to Almighty God for them.

PROLOGUE.

Although good Chronicles and Gestes, which unfold new facts in connected narrative, are much in favour and please the ears of their hearers, yet, as princes and prelates and other men of note, engrossed as they are by the many and arduous affairs as well as unavoidable and multifarious annoyances of worldly life, may not without serious trouble (which oftentimes brings weariness and quenches out of the hearers' hearts the desire to hear) lend their ears for any length of time to so bulky a volume as we see and have found in the Great Chronicle,[1] it is therefore the author's intention, under correction of those whom it concerns or may in any way soever concern in the future, to touch briefly and succinctly, the grace of the Holy Ghost working with him, upon every profitable and fruitful matter recorded in the Great Chronicle; and, as it is useless to do by more what may be done by less, to pick out, extract and disentangle, like a honey-bee among the flowers of the field, leaving

the flower uninjured, whatever on each point seems to suffice for the effectual showing forth of the truth of the matter, without long-drawn-out verbiage, which not unfrequently produces perplexity and weariness; and so to prepare an abridgment of the Chronicle, at the desire, order and commission of the venerable father and lord in Christ D——, by God's permission now reigning abbot of the monastery of Dunfermline, and governing the said[2] monastery; and to wind up ultimately by sifting and collecting, as best I might, facts happening in our own time, leaving out useless trifles and fruitless rubbish not pertinent to the subject, and by recording and introducing them together with some other wonderful doings which I who write have known, seen and heard out of this country; as also, lastly, about a certain marvellous maid who brought about the recovery of the kingdom of France out of the hands of the tyrant Henry king of England, and whom I saw and knew, and in whose company I was: I was present during her endeavours for the said recovery up to her life's end, etc.

[*Five books and fourteen chapters of the Sixth Book, which are as in John of Fordun, are omitted in this edition.*]

The fourteenth chapter of Book VI. concludes as follows:—

Be it also remarked that all these foregoing incidents were collected and compiled by the distinguished and discreet cleric, sir John of Fordun; but the rest, here following,—namely, down to the time of King James, the second of that name,—by the venerable father, the lord abbot of Inchcolm, who in his time was called sir Walter Bowar, as we find it stated in the Great Chronicle. May their souls rest in peace! Of the remainder, however, it will be known at the end of this present book who is going to compile them; for we cannot know precisely what may happen in the future. Wonder not, Reader, if, when the opinions and writings of divers authors and chroniclers about this most illustrious line of kings are quoted in the present little work, they be repeated twice or thrice; for, according to law, a conclusion is all the stronger for being proved by the authority of a great many, even as, in the gospel of Jesus Christ, one and the same history is proved by four Evangelists.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER XV.

Saint Margaret's descent, according to Baldred the abbot, according to William the historian, and according to Bishop Turgot; on the authority of these three and a great many historians that illustrious lineal succession is brought down from the kingdom of the Angles to the lawful heirs of Saint Margaret.

Having said thus much of certain kings of England, who incidentally belong to the subject-matter, we must next go on to the descent of the illustrious kings of the noble stock of the most blessed Margaret queen of Scots, according to Turgot bishop of St. Andrews; and we find in the most trustworthy and ancient histories and chronicles that they are lineally descended from Adam, to wit the father of all rational mortals. From Adam's son Seth, then, who was born unto him in Abel's stead, the genealogy of this sainted family is brought down to Enoch, who, together with the holy Elias, was in his lifetime translated by God, and awaits the coming of Antichrist.[3] We then come down to Noah, who alone, with his sons and their wives, was found worthy to be saved when the world was perishing; whose firstborn, Sem, earned a blessing from his father. From Sem the genealogy is brought down to Woden, who had so much authority among his people that the fourth day of the week, which the Roman Gentiles used to call Mercury's day, they dedicate to his name, and they call it Wodennisday in the English tongue to this day. From Woden we go on to Geta, who had so much wisdom and authority that he was commemorated as a god by the pagans. Then we come to the most Christian kings Ingels and Yne, of whom Yne, while he was sole monarch and the most powerful of the kings of England, left his kingdom and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he remained until his death. From Ingels we go on to Egbricht,

who was adorned by so many virtues, and was of so great prowess, that he entirely subdued and united under his rule the whole territory and tract of England south of the river Humber, which was at that time broken up and subject to several kings; and he was the first of all the kings of England to be styled "monarch." His son was Ethelwlf, that most bright fountain-head and source of his coming race, which precious root has yielded most noble and holy fruit. He, indeed, in his earthly kingdom, was ever mindful of the kingdom of heaven; and, after a good life, was gathered to his fathers, not losing but exchanging his kingdom, forsaking the temporal and gaining the eternal.

CHAPTER XVI.

Alfred, son of Ethelwlf.

The son of this Ethelwlf was that pride of the English, that gem of kings, that pattern of virtue, Alfred by name, less in age than the rest of his brothers, but greater in valour. When, after the death of his brothers, with whom he reigned for some time, the whole kingdom devolved upon him, he did his best to seem to fall in with the character and disposition of all men, to make himself useful and necessary to all; and, what is seldom now found upon earth and especially befits the dignity of king, to exercise no authority in Christ's Church. But, when he had reigned twenty-nine years and six months, he went up from his earthly kingdom to the kingdom of heaven, and left his son Edward to inherit his kingdom and character. For this Edward was beneath his father in knowledge of letters, but not much his inferior in holiness, and far superior to him in kingly power. He lived twenty-four years upon the throne, and begat sons and daughters, namely Athelstan, his firstborn son, of a most noble woman, to wit Edwina; and, of Edith the queen, Edwin, Edmund and Ethelred. So King Edward slept with his fathers, and his son Athelstan reigned after him, walking in the ways of his fathers, and filled with all virtue. Against[4] him did the remainder of the Danes lift up their infamous head, after their wont, but he crushed them under foot. When, however, he had lived sixteen years upon the throne, he died, and his brother Edmund reigned in his stead. This Edmund imitated his father Edward in all things, was a simple and upright man, fearing God, and abiding in his innocence unto the end; whereof the impious pagans took

advantage, refusing to submit themselves unto him and unto the Christian religion which the king, beloved of God, professed, and laying snares for his death in some way or other. He, however, when[5] their accursed purpose could in no wise be hid, ill brooking that the seemliness of his reign should be stained by their worship of idols, forcibly wrested from their grasp and occupation five most noble cities which they then inhabited, namely Lincoln, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham and Derby, and, wiping out all unbelief, illumined them with the light of the Christian faith. Whilst, therefore, the whole of England in these days flourished in profound peace under so great a father rather than king, he met with an untimely death after completing five years and seven months upon the throne, and expired suddenly in unlooked-for pain and agony.

CHAPTER XVII.

His brother Ethelred succeeds him.

His brother Ethelred[6] succeeded him on the throne, and walked in the ways of his father Edward and his brethren, complying in all things with the advice and injunctions of the blessed Dunstan; and a precious death closed his praiseworthy life. After him reigned Edwin, son of King Edmund, and he walked not in the ways of his fathers, but arose like another Herod amid all that race.

But as so much concerning this line of kings of England, allied in blood to the kings of Scots through the blessed Margaret, recapitulated as it is again and again in the accounts of the oft-mentioned historians Baldred, William, and Turgot, may suffice to show the readers the truth, it would now seem best to go on to what follows, leaving out fruitless trivialities.

After Saint David, therefore, the son of King Malcolm and the blessed Margaret, had gone the way of all flesh at Carlisle, and had been buried with due honour at Dunfermline, Malcolm, his nephew[7] through his brother, came to the throne; and in the first year of his reign the petty king of Argadia (Argyll), by name Sumerled, and his nephews, the sons of Malcolm Makheth, being joined by a great many others, rose against him and disturbed great part of Scotland. Now this Makheth[8] said he was the son of Angus earl of Moray—though in truth he was not—who in the time of King David was slain, as he deserved to be, by the Scots at Strucathioch (Strickathrow

in Forfar); and upon his death this Makheth rose against King David, as it were a son avenging his father's death; and, while bringing rapine and slaughter upon the neighbouring districts, he was at length captured and thrust[9] into close imprisonment in Marchmont Castle. In the time of King David, likewise, one of Makheth's sons, Dovenald by name, was captured at Quhitt-harn (Whithern) by some of the king's friends,[10] and imprisoned in that same castle of Marchmont, which is called Roxburgh, together with his father, who in the following year made peace with King Malcolm, while Sumerled still went on in his villainy. At Paris in these days flourished Peter Lombard, the Master of Sentences, the most eminent cleric in Theology; and contemporary with him was Peter Commestor, the Master of History. In the year 1154[11] Louis king of the French received the submission of Henry Fitz-Empress, duke of Normandy, who shortly afterwards came to England on King Stephen's death, took possession of the whole of the kingdom, and restored tranquillity. The same year William Cumyn archbishop of York, after receiving the Eucharist at Mass, perished through the treachery of his clerics by a dose of deadly poison in the Ablutions.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Malcolm, King of Scots, and Henry of England.

On the death, therefore, of Stephen king of England, Henry Fitz-Empress, duke of Normandy, was made king, in the second year of Malcolm king of Scotland. But, when he had been raised to the throne, he forgot his promise and oath which he had previously sworn to David, the uncle of his mother the said empress, and laying claim to Northumberland and Cumberland, though they had for countless years past yielded obedience to the kings of Scots, made great preparations to invade them; and he also recognosced the earldom of Huntingdon into his own possession. Now this Henry was called "The Lion," on account of his fierceness.. So when he saw that John bishop of Glasgow was discharging the duties of a bishop throughout Cumberland as usual, and would not on that account yield obedience to him as his feudal, or to the archbishop of York as his ecclesiastical, superior, he, at the instance of Trustin, the aforesaid archbishop, set up Edwald by main force as bishop in Cumberland in opposition to him; for there was none who durst at that time withstand him. But when Bishop John

heard that his bishopric was thus dismembered, and that he could in no wise be protected, either by right or by might, either by the law or by the sword, he crossed the sea and offered himself as a monk at the monastery of Tirou. King Malcolm of Scotland, however, by authority of the Pope, from a monk again restored him to the bishopric of Glasgow; and he presided over it for twenty-eight years more, and died, and lies buried at Jedwort (Jedburgh). From such causes, be it observed, namely alliances and rivalries, sprang up many evils between the princes, though, through the intervention of the magnates of the two kingdoms, a peace was entered into between them for a time; but, as that was a hollow peace, it did not last long. During this peace, however, King Malcolm, who was young and knew no guile, and, like an innocent, believed every word, did homage to King Henry at Chester —it is not known at whose instigation—in the same way as his uncle[12] King David had been the liegeman of the old Henry king of England, called Beauclerk, the husband of Maud the good queen of England, sister to the said King David; for by so doing King Malcolm hoped to be left in more free and peaceful possession of his property in England. This was without prejudice, however, in any respect, to his dignities and rights as king. At that place, the same year, the king, led astray by clever trickery, by the advice of some who had been bribed with money gave up Northumberland and Cumberland to the king of England, without taking the opinion of any of his lords save a few; wherefore this same king restored to him the earldom of Huntingdon. On account of this, the whole commonalty of the whole realm of Scotland murmured grievously against their king and his corrupt counsellors, and were silently stirred to hatred. Meanwhile, the following year, the aforesaid kings met at Carlisle to arrange their affairs, but did not come to any agreement. Afterwards, however, in the seventh year of the said King Malcolm of Scotland, the said King Henry led a strong army into France against Toulouse; but as Louis king of the French protected the town, he was baffled in the chief aim he had in view, and returned; and thus out of the most profound peace sprang up a most bitter quarrel between them. King Malcolm, though against the will of most of the magnates of the realm, was at that time in King Henry's army, and on the way back was begirt with the belt of knighthood by him in the city of Tours in France.

CHAPTER XIX.

King Malcolm.

The Scottish chiefs, however, perceiving that their king was too intimate with the said English king, were sore troubled, and with them all the lords and other folks of the realm of Scotland; for they feared lest his too great familiarity, which oftentimes breeds contempt, should beget mischief and shame for them. So, trying in all earnestness to provide against this, they sent an embassy after him, saying, "We will not have this man to reign over us." Thereupon he returned from the army at Toulouse, and came to Scotland; and by his royal authority he commanded the prelates and lords to assemble at Perth for divers pressing matters. Meanwhile the magnates of the country were roused, and six earls, namely Ferchard earl of Strathern and five others, being stirred up against the king, not indeed for any selfish advantage, or through treason, but for the good of the state and to guard the privileges of the realm, sought to arrest and take him, and besieged him in the keep of that town. They were, however, for the time foiled in their undertaking; and many days had not gone by before, through the intervention of the clergy and other nobles of the realm, he was reconciled; and he marched thrice in the same year into Galloway against certain rebels. These he overcame, conquered, made his allies, and subdued, and at length he came back in peace, without any loss to his own men; and he afterwards so held them in subjection and curbed their mouths with bit and bridle, that their petty king, Fergus by name, gave his son and heir to the king to govern and control,[13] and, renouncing the insignia of knighthood, became a canon in the monastery of Holyrood at Edinburgh. In these days, moreover, the king, by the advice of the magnates of his realm,[14] gave his sisters Margaret and Ada in marriage, Margaret to Conan duke of Brittany, and Ada to Florence count of Holland. At this period, also, peace was restored between the king of the French and the king of England; and, as a pledge for the maintenance thereof, Louis king of the French gave his daughter, barely two years old, to wife to the English king's eldest son, not yet six years old. At this time such an earthquake occurred by night in Burgundy, that many buildings fell in ruins. In these days, likewise, a quarrel broke out among the cardinals after Pope Adrian's death, whereby a great schism sprang up in Christ's Church; and Pope Alexander, then canonically elected, by his

apostolic authority excommunicated and altogether expelled from the Church of God three schismatics who had been elected at the treacherous instigation of the devil.

CHAPTER XX.

Malcolm conquers the petty king of Argadia.

About the same time, in consequence of the perfidy of the men of Moray, whose lord, namely Angus their earl, had, together with his family, been formerly slain, the king with a large army removed all the Moravians, as well beyond the hills as this side thereof,[15] and took them across out of the land of their birth, and depopulated it, so that not a single native of that land remained there; and he placed in that country a peaceable people to inhabit the said land. Sommerled, however, the petty king of Argadia (Argyll), who had now for twelve years been impiously fighting against his lord the king, was at length, through God's vengeance, while on a plundering expedition with a strong army which repaired to him from Ireland by sea and from among his own lieges by land, slain by the king[16] at Renfrew, together with his son, Gillecolam by name, and a large number of his men. Now when this King Malcolm grew up to be a young man at the age of puberty, he refused to take a wife, although he had been besought by his councillors and the magnates of the realm and by the entreaties of the whole people, and even, as far as consistent with the king's dignity, advised and exhorted to marry; and, dedicating his maidenhood to God, he abode all the days of his life in the full observance of chastity and self-controlled modesty. Although he might, on the strength of his kingly rank, have lain even with married women, as is often the case, yet he never would violate the chastity of maidenhood. He never harmed, but kindly entreated, any who wished to live a good life; but against the prince of this world, the enemy of mankind, he manfully warred, supported by God's help. He gave up carnal for the sake of eternal joys, and his whole mind was bent on reigning with Christ for ever. For this cause he patiently endured many insulting speeches at the hands of his friends and countrymen: for, according to the words of Solomon, Standing in righteousness, he made ready his soul to the trial; and he in his spirit firmly laid hold of the fervour of divine love, so that, rapt in the contemplation of God and despising earthly things, he almost entirely neglected and overlooked the duty of

governing devolving upon the king's majesty. Wherefore his people were so dissatisfied and indignant with him, that his younger brother William—who, ever since the English had taken away his domain, the earldom of Northumberland, had been very hostile to those English, and had become their implacable foe—was proclaimed and appointed warden of the whole kingdom, against the king's will, as it were, and even that of William himself; his younger brother David being at that time earl of Huntingdon. In these days Pope Alexander held a general council in the city of Tours in France, and excommunicated Octavian the Antipope. Cupar monastery was founded, and the city of Milan destroyed.

Be it remarked that Conan, count of Brittany and of Richemont, begat of the aforesaid Margaret one daughter named Constance, who was given in marriage to the English king Richard's brother Geoffroy count of Anjou, who of her begat a son named Arthur, count both of Anjou and of Brittany, through his father and mother, and count also of Poitou by gift of Philip king of France. This Arthur, however, was, with many other nobles, drowned between France and England, as already stated.[17] Of the said Margaret, moreover, this Conan begat another daughter, who was named Alice, and who was married to Peter Mauclerk, and bore a son named John, afterwards duke of Brittany, of whose illustrious line have hitherto come the celebrated dukes of Brittany, whose posterity is in these days "with the Scot allied," to wit the daughter of King James I., Elizabeth by name, wedded to the duke of Brittany, Francis by name, who was the nephew of the king of the French, Charles VII., and who of her begat a daughter whom he joined in wedlock with the firstborn of the count de Montfort, next heir to the said duchy of Brittany in lineal descent through his father.[18] This marriage revives the recollection of a certain prophecy in the following lines:—

"The race of Brutus, with the Scot allied,
Shall crush with sword and famine Anglia's pride."

I find these stray passages in the Great Chronicle, and have therefore thought it well to introduce them here incidentally.

CHAPTER XXI.

Death of Malcolm King of Scotland.

NOW in these days King Malcolm, upon whom God showered the blessings of sweetness, was all his life remarkable for spot-

less chastity, for the graces of lowliness and innocence, for purity of conscience and holiness and staidness of behaviour, fervently following the promptings of the love of the Most High; so that among laymen, with whom he had nothing in common but his dress, he seemed as it were a monk, and, among the men he ruled, an angel upon earth. But, when he had spent twelve years seven months and three days upon the throne, he was called away by Christ on Thursday the 9th of December; and he cast off the flesh for the fellowship of angels, for the world was not worthy of him; and, leaving this world in the flower of his age, he went to heaven, not losing, but exchanging, his kingdom, and passed away to the Lord. After his decease, while a devout cleric, a most intimate friend of the aforesaid king while he lived, was watching and spending his time in prayer at his tomb, for the love he bore him, while chanting the Psalms a sweet sleep crept over him, and he thought there appeared to him this same king, cheerful and glad, in white raiment, and bedecked most seemly in the insignia of royalty, as was meet; and he conversed with him, answering such questions as he asked.

Here follows a metrical version of the questions put by the aforesaid cleric to the king:—

Cleric. A king thou wast, what art thou now?
King. A servant once, lo! now I reign.
C. Why lingers still thy flesh below?
K. My spirit seeks the heavenly plain.
C. Art thou in torment or content?
K. Nay, not in pain. I rest in peace.
C. Then what hath been thy punishment?
K. A bitter lot ere my decease.
C. Where art thou, friend? Where dwells thy sprite?
K. In paradise that knows not woe.
C. Why does thy raiment gleam so white?
K. I to my grave a maid did go.
C. Why answerest so shortly, friend?
K. My life is eloquent for me.
C. Thy days thou didst in sickness spend.
K. But now from sickness I am free.
C. Why lost we thee? Why did we part?
K. That I might find the saints on high.
C. What was it grieved thy gentle heart?
K. This wicked world is all a lie.
C. Tell me, when shalt thou come again?
K. When the great Judge shall judge at last.

C. Will Scotia for thy loss complain?
    K. Not now, but when this time is past.
C. Wilt leave me now? What dost thou fear?
    K. The burden of the life I bore.
C. Hast thou no word thy friends to cheer?
    K. Bid them farewell for evermore.[19]

When he had said this, the ghost glided away; and the cleric awoke and committed these lines to memory, and published to all men the king's plight, such as he had seen it. This celebrated king was called *The Maiden*; and he was also called *Malcolm Keanwourth*, to distinguish him from his great-grandfather Malcolm Canmor. So he died at Jedworth, and his body, escorted by all the magnates and prominent persons of the kingdom, was brought to Dunfermline in great state, and there obtained a place of burial in the middle of the choir, in front of the high altar, on the right of his grandfather the sainted King David. The same year, in the month of August, before sunrise in the morning, there appeared two comets, one in the south and another in the north.

CHAPTER XXII.

King William, brother of the said King Malcolm.

The same year, on the fifteenth day after the said King Malcolm's death, all the prelates and lords of the realm met at Scone; and, having come to an unanimous agreement, adopted as king the said King Malcolm's brother William, who was at that time earl of Northumberland, and was, on account of his admirable life and uprightness of conduct, called the Friend of God, the Lion of Justice, the Paragon of Nobility. So on Christmas Eve he was, according to the royal custom, raised in state to the regal throne, the ceremony being performed by Richard archbishop of Saint Andrews and other prelates and magnates. The following year the king of England crossed the sea, and was shortly after followed by the said William king of Scotland, to treat of divers difficult matters; and as the said Henry king of England expected that war would be made against him, seeing that he had against him the Welsh and Matthew count of Boulogne, consort of King Stephen's daughter, as well as the French nation, he thought he would secure the Scottish nation through his kinsman King William, and with honeyed words attract it to himself by a few fair

promises. But Matthew assembled a fleet from all parts: he fitted out six hundred vessels, it was rumoured, which he was to man with Flemings and lead to the invasion of England the following year. Therefore there was a great stir made throughout England, and it was eagerly sought to secure friends everywhere. For in these days, ever since Northumberland had been restored to Henry king of England, there reigned between the kingdoms no settled peace, but rather some frail truce, many a time broken and as often patched up again, whereby the contiguous borders of the kingdoms suffered severely. Wherefore, on these and other grounds, an agreement was drawn up by commissioners from either country and confirmed by the seal of each king and of all the lords, that, in order to recover Northumberland and establish an indissoluble bond of everlasting peace, William king of Scotland should go to his cousin King Henry, then at Windsor, awaiting his coming thither. This was accordingly done; and on his arrival there he was received with great rejoicings. But just as the kings were talking over their affairs, all of a sudden untoward news from over the water burst upon King Henry's ears; so when he had learned the purport thereof, he put aside all business and crossed the sea at the head of a huge army.

CHAPTER XXIII.

King William sets out for Gaul against the wish of his countrymen.

King William of Scotland, however, could by no contrivance of his own nobles who were there with him, or of any one else, be restrained from setting out with him against the wish of all, so that he might witness the encounter of brave warriors; and in those parts he gained brilliant honours of chivalry, giving before all men promise of uncommon prowess. And thus, having first ratified the truce, he returned to his own kingdom with honour; while the treaty of peace which was to have been arranged was put off to an appointed time of fitting leisure. Afterwards war broke out again between the French and English kings about the city of Toulouse and for sundry other reasons on either side, so that, besides many other evils, the county of Anjou and the province of the Vexin were fearfully ravaged by fire and pillage, while the king of the French tarried four days in the Vexin. The second year after this, however, peace was restored between them, when both kingdoms had often been

reduced to great straits; and, in order to consolidate this peace, the French king's other daughter, begotten of the daughter of the king of the Spaniards, was given to Richard, son of the king of England. This Richard, moreover, got the duchy of Aquitaine from the king of the French, and did homage and swore fealty to him for the honour of the duchy. On this account also Henry, that Richard's brother and King Henry's firstborn, then got from the king of the French the lordship of Brittany, together with the province of Anjou and the city of Cenoman (Le Mans), doing homage for these as he had already done for the duchy of Normandy.

The year before, that is in 1166, Earl Gospatrick died, and was succeeded by his son Walter. The following year died Baldred of happy memory, third abbot of Rivaulx, who composed the little book on the Life of Saint David king of Scots; and he was succeeded in the said abbacy of Rivaulx by Silvan abbot of Dundranan. The same year also died the Empress Maud, daughter of the Good Queen Maud of England, and mother of Henry II. king of the English; and the Emperor Frederick I. marched upon Rome, and thrust a certain schismatic into the church of Saint Peter by force of arms. In the year 1169 died Gregory bishop of Dunkeld, and Humbald prior of Wenlock brought the brotherhood to the monastery of Paisley, which Walter, the son of Alan steward of the king of Scotland, had founded shortly before.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Henry, the father, out of hatred for Saint Thomas, has his son Henry crowned.

In this year Henry king of England came back to England from Normandy, and on the way back many of his men perished by shipwreck. King William, however, came to him at Windsor upon the same business as before, to agree about arranging a peace, on Easter Eve, the day appointed by their agents, and was received by him with great honours. The interview began after the Festival; and when they came to talk over the conditions, with regard, that is, to the earldom of Northumberland, upon which the king of England had promised it him in the former negotiations, he asked that the earldom should be restored to him; but what he had, as already said, conceded to fear of threatening wars, this he refused to give up now that they were somewhat allayed and to some extent quieted and he

was as it were safe from his enemies. Wherefore King William of Scotland went away unsatisfied, with none of the business settled; and he returned and arrived safely in Scotland. In the year 1169, Henry king of England, having arranged for the consecration and anointing of his eldest son Henry, son-in-law to Louis king of France, by the archbishop of York, out of hatred to Saint Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, in violation of the privileges of the said church of Canterbury, wickedly and arbitrarily raised him to the throne, and drove the aforesaid holy man into exile in France. In these days a great quarrel and struggle broke out between Henry the father, the old king, and Henry the son, the young king. On account of this rupture, Henry the son retired with his two brothers from England to France, to the king of the French, and enticed and won over to his cause King William of Scotland and many others, lords of France, who shared his views and promised him help. For it was hinted to the son that his father repented of having raised him to the throne, and wished silently and secretly to take his aforesaid son, the young king, and consign him to close confinement in some strong castle; and when the son heard this, he crossed the water and betook himself to his wife's father Louis king of the French. Trusting then in his help, he lost no time in hatching plots and wars against his father the king of the English; but it was an evil thing to do, for it is most wicked for son to rise against father. Nevertheless it may be taken for granted that it came to pass by God's permission, on account of the atrocities erst wickedly inflicted upon the blessed Thomas the Martyr.

CHAPTER XXV.

War between the father and son, [Kings] of England.

In the year 1173 the aforesaid Henry, the son, king of England, supported by the king of France and joined by Philip count of Flanders and many others from both England and France, led an army into Normandy against his father, and took the castle of Albemarle and imprisoned the count of Albemarle, whom his father King Henry had despatched to that place; and, while taking and storming a great many other places, he slew many nobles of that country, together with the count of Boulogne. But William king of Scotland, listening to these promises of this new king, who proffered and promised him Northumberland and Cumberland, and hoping to repair

his former losses and wrongs by a fresh struggle, took the field with a large army against the old King Henry; and he first laid siege to Wark Castle, and encamped there, and then marched upon Northumberland with a great multitude of wild[20] Scots, and, sparing no sex, made the place unrecognisable, wasted and consumed with fire and sword everything this side of the river Humber, and afterwards retreated to Carlisle and attacked[21] the city with all his forces. It so happened, however, that at this time Robert earl of Leicester was put at the head of a great many knights by the young King Henry, and of a great multitude also of Flemish foot who embraced his cause, and was, together with his wife also in mail, sent into England to King William's support; but, before he could reach him through England, he was captured by the adherents of the old king of England, and great part of his army was slain, while he was consigned to cruel imprisonment in chains of iron in Porchester Castle. But when King William at Carlisle heard of this, he was so greatly grieved thereat that he raised the siege and went home again.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Capture of William King of Scotland.

In the year 1174 King William led an army into England, and besieged and took Appleby and subdued Westmoreland. Thereupon, for a sum of money, the Northumbrians obtained a peace until the eighth day after Whitsunday; and thus he made a raid and went home again without loss. But, after tarrying there a little while, he again got an army together and went back into England and took Borough-under-Moor; so, after having wasted Cumberland, as he was going back ravaging through Northumberland, he came before Alnwick; and, when bivouacking there with a few knights, while the greater part of the army were scattered here and there over the country, the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly arrived and took him prisoner, on the 13th of July, in the tenth year of his reign, and carried him off with hardly any of his men being aware of it. Meanwhile Henry, the old king of England, came to England and proceeded[22] barefoot, clad in sackcloth, wailing and weeping, and with a great multitude of bishops and lords, to the tomb of Saint Thomas, doing penance for his sins and humbly beseeching peace.

But in the morning William king of Scots, having been

taken prisoner as aforesaid, and, by the ordering of God's loving-kindness, rescued from the shedding of man's blood, not only that his own fierceness and turbulence might be allayed, but also that peace might be restored to the French and to all parts over the water, was upon his capture at once taken to Richemont in sorrow, where Saint Thomas was repeatedly implored to befriend him; and he was there placed in custody and reverently kept for a time. But when the matter came to the ears of the old King Henry of England, he was brought before him by his orders and straightway forwarded to Normandy and confined in the Tower of Falaise. David, therefore, his younger brother, hearing this, at once left Leicester, to which he had laid siege,[21] and quickly repaired to Scotland with his men. At this time the Scots and the men of Galloway, on their king being thus seized, ruthlessly massacred their English neighbours and each other,[23] with mutual slaughter, by frequent attacks and invasions; and both English and Gallowidians were most wofully hunted down, so that no sex or age was spared, but all ransom was refused, and they were put to death without distinction.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Reconciliation of the Father and Son, Kings of the English.

Meanwhile Rouen was besieged by the king of the French and by the young King Henry and Philip count of Flanders. But, when the old King Henry discovered this, seeing that the whole English people was now as tranquil as he could wish, and fast secured under his rule by a treaty of peace, he hurried to the sea, and lost no time in crossing over to support his men with the strong hand; and he drew William king of Scots from confinement, and brought him with him. Upon learning this, all his foes were seized with fear, so that those who were the chief instigators of the quarrel began to negotiate for peace; and, at the instance of some good men, the father and son were set at one by a secure peace. Thus peace was once for all entirely restored on both sides of the water, and, at the intercession of the king of France, King Henry released and liberated all the prisoners but the king of Scotland, and gave them back their honours and goods. Lo, how they loved him, the king of Scots, to forsake him, all of them, and with one accord be reconciled in peace and honour! Might he not say with the prophet, All his friends departed from him, and

there was none to comfort him of all his dear ones? For his seeming friends, who in the time of their need appeared to be his firmest allies, forsook him when it was rumoured that he had been captured. Behold what it is to trust in the alliance of enemies surrounded by troops of traitors, who, though feigning peace with their neighbour, yet have evil in their hearts and the poison of asps under their lips! But deservedly, by the judgment of God, did William king of Scots suffer these things, for he unnaturally supported an impious son against his father, not in a just war, nor through zeal for justice, but rashly, through the worthless advice of young men, without being guided by the advice of the lords or prelates of his realm: in direct opposition to Solomon, who says, He that is wise hearkeneth unto counsel, for wisdom dwelleth in counsel and is concerned with witty inventions. For he was ill advised to abandon and forego following up a most just cause of war of his own, and afford help in an unjust war to an unrighteous son who proved ungrateful to him: for it is acknowledged that William himself notoriously had an undoubted hereditary right to the sovereignty and crown of the whole kingdom of England. But the young King Henry was ungrateful to him; for when, by the intercession of his father-in-law the king of the French, he restored the other prisoners to freedom and honour, one word of his, if he had so wished, could have freed this same King William by the help of the said king of the French. What one must, in greater matters and affairs, think of those who ungratefully fail their friends in smaller, I leave to more competent judges to decide. Moreover, how can one who is not afraid to be false to his parents, who are dear to him, be trusted to be true to his word or friendship with strangers he knows not?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Liberation of King William.

Now when the other magnates had been released, the bishops of Saint Andrews and Dunkeld and a great many other lords and prelates, earls and barons of the kingdom of Scotland went across the sea to King Henry, then in Normandy, about setting their king free. He was accordingly set free, and went home again about the Feast of Purification after he was captured; and he straightway made over to the English king the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh and Edinburgh,

and wardens were appointed thereto under the dominion of the said English king; while some English hostages were delivered to the Scots King William himself for the future maintenance of peace and the unshaken observance of other conventions drawn up between these kings. Afterwards, on the 15th of August, all the bishops and prelates of Scotland were, at the command of their King William, bound by virtue of an oath and a sacred promise to appear at York in a body before the English King Henry; their lord the king, even as then needs behoved him, bidding them to do so, as was their duty in right of homage, and as they were bound by the tenor of their fealty.[24] I find,[25] however, in various chronicles, that Stirling Castle was likewise at that time handed over to the aforesaid wardens; whence Baldred, in his *Answers to the Inventions of the King of England*, says:—"And four of the strongest castles of the kingdom of Scotland were given to the king of England as security; and the aforesaid lords and prelates assured the king of England by oath that they were not to attack these castles, nor otherwise take them, until King William should be set free." So King William came home again in the year 1175.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Rebellion of Galloway and fickleness of the men thereof.

In the year that William was set at liberty, and even during the time he was kept in confinement, the Gallowidians, led by Gilbert son of Fergus, conspired together, and, seceding from the kingdom of Scotland, ravaged and disturbed all the lands on their frontiers. Othred, however, a son of this very Fergus, being a true Scot, who could, moreover, in nowise be turned against the king, was captured by his aforesaid brother Gilbert and imprisoned and loaded with chains; but at length, as he would not acquiesce in their villainies, his tongue was cut out and his eyes were torn out and he was put to death. But when the king, on being released, learnt this, he made ready an army against them, and, penetrating into Galloway, lay in ambush for them. Whereupon the said Gilbert came with his men to meet him, humbly offering restitution and amendment for all his misdeeds, and, by the mediation of lords and prelates, a complete reparation of wrongs was made by a money payment and by giving hostages, and he returned to his allegiance. Later on, however, after the next winter season, the king of England held a general council at Northampton on the 29th of

January, where King William of Scotland and, at the command of both kings, all the bishops and prelates of the kingdom of Scotland were assembled; and they were instructed, on one side, under a threat of banishment, and on the other it was insinuated to them by crooked persuasions under the pretence of advice, that they should submit to the archbishop of York as their metropolitan. But the prelates and all the Scots strove hard to avert the threatened danger; and, better counsels prevailing, the proposal was unanimously rejected by them,—by having, however, recourse to delay. Thereupon, through the tact of these prelates, the pristine dignity and ancient liberty of the Scottish Church were confirmed by apostolic authority and fortified by Pope Alexander with more important privileges. In the year 1176, before the aforesaid council, a certain cardinal priest named Vivian, titular of Saint Stephen in Mount Cælius, came as legate of the apostolic see, armed with great authority, and crushing everything in his way; and he thence proceeded to Ireland to discharge his duties as legate. In the same year there arose a dispute between Walter, abbot of Tirou, and John, of Kelso, on the subject of which of them would seem to be the greater; and their suit is said to be still under consideration. The aforesaid Vivian, however, after holding a council in Ireland, went back to Scotland, and summoned all the prelates of the kingdom of Scotland to the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh), and held a solemn council on the 1st of August, where he revived a great many decrees of the ancients, and moreover enacted other new ones. The following year, according to Vincent, Saint Thomas of Canterbury was canonised by Pope Alexander. In these days also a certain cleric, a native of England, was elected to the bishopric of Saint Andrews; but King William opposed him, and, by means of reports sent by him to the Pope, managed to get his own chaplain consecrated bishop: whence there arose a serious dispute and dangerous quarrel.

CHAPTER XXX.

The noble cleric Gilbert the Scot.

Now, in that aforesaid council held at Northampton by the English king in the presence of Richard and Roger, archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the clergy of both kingdoms, a certain Scottish cleric named Gilbert, perceiving their attempt to bring the Scottish Church under subjection, and

having heard the humiliating words they had hurled at the Scots, was almost driven mad; and, though against the wishes of all his own prelates and clergy, yet, as he was admonished to speak out whatever he liked by the archbishops, who at first thought him a fool and said within themselves, "The Scot hath pepper up his nose; he is full of words, and the wind of his stomach is griping him; his belly is like new wine without a vent-hole, which bursteth asunder the new bottles," he, glowing like red-hot iron, poured forth some such passionate words as these:—"Ye would, indeed," said he, "men of England, have been noble—yea, nobler than the men of wellnigh any other country—had ye not craftily changed the might of your nobleness and the strength of your dreaded courage into the insolence of tyranny, and your enlightened wisdom and knowledge into the wily quibbles of sophistry. For ye trust not yourselves to order your actions aright as under the guidance of reason; but, both puffed up by your teeming hosts of knights, and trusting in the delights of wealth and all manner of substance, ye through some wrongful lust or greed of mastery aim at subduing to your sway all the bordering provinces and nations, nations nobler and worthier than you—I will not say in numbers, or in might—but in blood and in antiquity; nations whom, if ye study the writings of old, ye ought rather humbly to obey, or at least, quenching the touchwood of all ill-will, henceforth maintain brotherly love with and reign with for aye. And now, above all the wickedness which ye have wrought in your pride, ye are striving, without any plea of right, but by brute force and presumption, to crush the Scottish Church, your mother, catholic and free from the beginning, which, while ye were straying through the pathless wilds of heathendom, set you upon the steed of faith and brought you back to the way of truth and life, Christ, the home of everlasting rest; washed your kings and princes and their peoples with the water of holy baptism; taught you God's commandments and instructed you in morals; and, most gladly welcoming many of your nobles and common folk who took delight in giving their mind to reading, took care to bestow upon them their daily food free of cost, as well as books to read and masters for nothing. She likewise consecrated, appointed and ordained your bishops and priests; and Bede, moreover, bears witness that for the space of thirty years or more she held the primacy and the summit of episcopal dignity north of the river Thames. What return, pray, are ye making to one who has lavished so many benefits upon you? Is it not the subjection of bondage, or such as Jewry gave to Christ, evil for good

and hatred for love? I, indeed, cannot hope for anything else. How art thou turned to bitterness, O alien vine! We looked that thou shouldst bear grapes, and thou hast brought forth wild grapes! We looked that thou shouldst do judgment and justice, and lo iniquity and injustice and a cry! But if thy will should be followed by deeds, thou wouldst bring down to the utmost wretchedness of bondage her whom it beseems thee to treat with all worship and reverence. Fie, for shame! What could be worse?

Where benefits slide off, there wrongs will cling.

The poison which snakes spit out to another's hurt they hold without hurting themselves; but not so the vice of ingratitude: for the ungrateful man tortures and frets himself, hates and decries boons he must return, but exaggerates and makes the most of his wrongs. I feel the truth of Seneca's saying, when he declares that the more some men owe the more they hate, and a small debt[26] to another makes a great enemy of the debtor. But what sayest thou, David? This, I trow—'They have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love.' It is unjust, says Gregory, to serve a lord whom no service can please. Therefore thou, also, Anglican Church,

Dost seek forbidden means to gain thine end;

nay, even to seize what is not granted.

Wish what is just, if thou would have thy wish.

So, not to pester my hearers with any further words, I for my part, although not charged with this duty, yet for the sake of the freedom of my Scottish Church, even though the whole clergy of Scotland should think otherwise, cannot agree to their being brought under subjection; and I here at once appeal to our apostolic lord, to whom the said Church is immediately subject; and if I must needs die for her, I here bow my head to the sword. Nor do I think we need refer the matter to my lords the prelates of Scotland,—I should not even consent to this: because it is more straightforward bluntly to refuse a request than to delay and put off to some distant date; for he who is quickly refused is the less deceived." At these words some of the English, both prelates and magnates, joined in loud praises of the cleric, in that he had fearlessly vented the feelings of his heart for his country's sake, flattering none, nor daunted by the stern looks of his hearers,—indeed, they also beyond measure dreaded the apostolic see, by reason of the severe censure it had shortly before meted out to those who

were disaffected towards the liberties of the Church and towards Saint Thomas of Canterbury. Others, again, because he had put forward what went against their wishes, set him down as a vapouring Scot, and hasty by nature.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Certain incidents connected with this matter.

But Roger archbishop of York, who was the prime mover[27] in the plan to bring the Scottish Church under his own metropolitan jurisdiction, heaved a sigh out of the fulness of his heart and broke up the council; and, rising with a forced smile on his lips, he patted the aforesaid Gilbert on the head with his right hand, and said laughing to the bystanders—

"'Twas not from his own quiver came that shaft."

Implying, as it were, "When ye stand before princes and bishops to uphold justice, ponder not beforehand what ye shall speak; for it will be given you in that hour what to speak: for it is not ye who speak, but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in you." From that time forward King William so loved the aforesaid cleric, that he held him in the greatest intimacy in his most secret actions and projects. Some, indeed, say that this was the Gilbert whom the king afterwards appointed chamberlain of the kingdom; and, through the good offices of the king, our lord the Pope later on raised him to the bishopric of Caithness, and our Lord Jesus Christ signalised him by many miracles after his life had run its course.

In the year 1179 Louis king of the French, then seventy and paralytic, had his son Philip crowned and consecrated in his own lifetime, the said King Philip being only fourteen years old; and the English King Henry was present, from the allegiance he owed for the duchy of Normandy. Philip reigned forty years and more of a praiseworthy life. At this time King William founded the monastery of Arbroath, and his brother David, then earl of Huntingdon, the monastery of Lindores.[28]

In these days King William, together with his brother David earl of Huntingdon, marched with a large army into Ross, against a certain rebel named Makwilliam and another, to wit Donald Bane;[29] and he there planted two castles, one that of Dunschath, and another named Edertoune. But, when the king had returned to southern parts, these same tyrants

rebelled, after seven years' tranquillity; so he brought a fresh army thither and slew them, together with a great number of traitors who were likewise slain. Having thus speedily reduced the whole country and established it in perfect peace, he left it; and, during a short stay at Inverness Castle, he ordered the said Donald Bane's head to be fixed there.

In these days William and his brother David earl of Huntingdon were with the old King Henry in Normandy, to transact some business of theirs, and they lent their assistance[30] to the French king against the Flemings, who had rebelled against him.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Restoration of the Earldom of Huntingdon to King William of Scotland.

In the year 1185 the patriarch of Jerusalem came to England, and was honourably received by King Henry. In this year also Henry king of England restored the earldom of Huntingdon to King William at Windsor, which earldom he had formerly extorted from him as his ransom, together with the earldoms of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland and the earldom of Carlisle.[31] This earldom of Huntingdon King William gave and granted to his brother David, to be holden of himself for ever. It should be observed that, during the whole time that King William was a prisoner, until he regained his freedom, both in the southern and in the northern tracts of the kingdom of Scotland the inhabitants thereof were divided among themselves, and fought against each other with murderous hate; and the cause of this wretchedness and slaughter was Gilbert the son of Fergus, who had formerly mutilated and killed his own brother.[32] By the will of God he died; and, after his death, Rotholand son of the said mutilated Othred, being supported by the king's help, fought a battle with a man of the name of Gilpatric and another named Kened and a third named Samuel, who were the chief arch-tyrants of the Gallowidians, and defeated and slew them. This same Rotholand also, at the king's command, deprived alike of life and property and exterminated a certain other tyrant named Gillecolum, the chief of the freebooters of Lothian, together with his companions; and he cleared the country of tyrants and restored tranquillity. After this, however, Henry king of the English, who had formerly begun to support the

Gallowidians, was greatly irritated against Rotholand; and, in consequence of the reports of certain persons who wished him ill, he mustered an army and marched against him, advancing as far as Carlisle. But Rotholand repaired to him by order of his lord the king, and was honourably received on his arrival, and they were set at one and reconciled. But King William, in consideration of Rotholand's meritorious services while the king was a prisoner, and on account of[33] his father's loyalty as well as his own fidelity, gave him the whole land of his brother[34] Gilbert, as also the land which he formerly owned by hereditary right, to hold in full and peaceful possession. He also brought about peace, love and[35] harmony between him and the son of the said Gilbert. Moreover, because the son of the said Gilbert obeyed the king and submissively gave up his father's land to the said Rotholand, as already stated, King William granted to this same son of Gilbert the entire land of Carrick and its pertinents.

In the year 1186 Geoffroy, the English King Henry's third son, who was duke or[36] earl of Brittany, died at Paris. The same year Henry king of England gave William back the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh), which he had kept ever since William was captured; and he joined unto him in marriage his kinswoman Eymergarde, daughter of the earl of Beaumont, who was son of the son[37] of William the Bastard's eldest son named Robert Curtoiz. Some say, indeed, that he begat of his first wife a daughter named Margaret,[38] united in marriage with the first Robert de Bruce, and another daughter whom he gave in marriage to the earl of Leodulss.[39]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Flight and Death of Henry Fitz-Empress—King Richard.

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Moreover Richard, as soon as his coronation was over, in full parliament and with the consent of his councillors freed and released, by an unanimous resolution, all his friends and allies, both English and French, as well as the partisans of his predeceased brother Henry the younger king at the time of their wars against their father, from whom his father had extorted any taxes, bonds, or contracts whatsoever; and he also of his own accord gave back with usury the lands, property and ransoms and all other goods whatsoever that had been taken

from them. To William king of Scots he freely restored his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick,—the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh) having been formerly restored to him by the father,—and he proclaimed the king himself and his kingdom quitted of all claim of subjection and servitude for ever; and he moreover released King William himself, the kingdom and inhabitants for ever from all engagements of fealty, sworn promises and sacred covenants, by the tenor of which he was anciently or otherwise bound to his father, or to any other former kings of England whatsoever, for whatever cause, whether for the liberation of his body or otherwise howsoever and whatsoever;[40] and he freed and sent him back to the kingdom of Scotland all the hostages given to his father on that account. He also, on receiving from him ten thousand merks, publicly declared and pronounced the king and his successors, the kingdom and inhabitants perpetually free, quit and exempt from all jurisdiction and subjection to dominion for ever; and all the writs, charters, instruments and deeds wherein the old covenants and bonds or contracts formerly wrongfully extorted from him for any cause whatever were set out, were altogether annulled, destroyed and cancelled, and delivered up in full to the aforesaid King William. He also had fresh writs, charters, proofs and instruments drawn up for him about the aforesaid liberties, exemptions, quittances and declarations of privileges, under the seals of their lordships the prelates and lords both of France and of England as well as of Normandy present in his parliament, and his own Great Seal: and the tenor of the royal letter on the subject is as follows:—

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Richard, by the grace of God of England king, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou and Poitou; to the archbishops, bishops and abbots, priors, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs and all his ministers and lieges of the whole realm of England, Greeting: Know ye that We have given back to Our cousin William, by the grace of God king of Scots, his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, with all their pertinents, as belonging to him by right of inheritance, to be held by him and his heirs, successors in the said kingdom, for ever. Furthermore We acquit him of all customs and agreements and covenants which Our father of happy memory, Henry king of England, extorted by fresh escheats through his capture. Provided, that is to say, that King William himself do wholly and fully unto Us, for his lands

which he holds of Us in England, what his brother King Malcolm did unto Our ancestors, and what it was his duty by law to do. In like manner We also shall do unto him and his successors whatever it was and has been Our predecessors' duty by law to do unto them, namely in safe-conduct while coming to Our court and while returning from court and while tarrying there, in procurations and dignities and honours, and in all the liberties of the same due by law from old time (according as it shall be ascertained by four lords of Ours chosen by King William himself, and four lords of the kingdom of Scotland chosen by Us) since William the Bastard, the conqueror of England, obtained the said kingdom. But if any of Our men, since William king of Scots was taken prisoner by Our father, has in any wise seized the borders of the marches, or the marches of the kingdom of Scotland, or unlawfully retained them without a judgment, We desire that they be entirely given back and restored to the former state in which they were before his capture. Furthermore, touching his lands which he has in England, whether demesnes or fiefs, either in the earldom of Huntingdon or in any other place whatsoever, he and his heirs for ever may hold them as freely and fully as his brother Malcolm king of Scotland held them, unless the aforesaid King Malcolm feued any of the said lands to any one: Provided, however, that if any were feued afterwards, the services of these fiefs belong to him and his heirs. And whatever Our father bestowed on the aforesaid Malcolm or William, We hold it valid, and for Us and Our heirs confirm it for ever, and will hold it fast for ever. We also give back to the aforesaid William king of Scotland the allegiance of his vassals, and all the charters which Our father had of him by reason of his capture; and if any other charters or letters are kept back through forgetfulness, or shall hereafter be found, We decree and command that the same be altogether without force. But William himself has become Our liegeman for all his lands in England, for which his ancestors were the liegemen of Our ancestors, and he has sworn fealty unto Us. Witness myself.

Now after this the prelates[41] of the whole kingdom of Scotland gladly divided among themselves the aforesaid sum of ten thousand merks, and paid it off entirely, at no small cost, at the terms fixed by the king of England. In this year David earl of Huntingdon, King William's brother, took to wife the daughter of Hugh earl of Chester.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The harmony, peace and happy tranquillity between William King of Scotland and Richard of England.

But King William, feeling for the disaster which had befallen his cousin Richard on his way back,[42] sent him over to England two thousand merks out of his own treasury, and there was such harmony, peace, love and mutual intercourse of the inhabitants between the kings and kingdoms, that the one was anxious to fulfil the wishes of the other in all things; and in like manner the two peoples were reckoned as one and the same; for the English throughout Scotland, and the Scots throughout England, as often as and however they pleased, both beyond the highlands and on this side, whether on foot or on horseback, enjoyed steady peace and brotherly love.

In these days King William, being laid up with sickness at Clackmannan, made all the magnates of the realm take the oath of fealty to his daughter Margaret as the true heir to the crown of Scotland, at least in case that king had not afterwards a son and heir. This daughter of his, Margaret, he begat of the daughter of Adam de Hitusun. Afterwards his daughter Isabel, who had formerly been given in wedlock to Robert de Bruce, was by King William united in marriage with a certain Robert de Ross at Haddington.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The King of England does homage to the King of France.

In these days, also, King William led an army into the earldom of Caithness against certain rebels, whom he slew; and he restored peace and won back to his friendship the Earl Harrald, who, egged on by his wife, had wrought much mischief. The following year, that is, in the year 1197, Harrald rose against the king's friends in Moray; and Roderick, who had been left by the king to guard the country,[43] and many others fell slain in battle. But the king led an army beyond the Highlands against Harrald, and pursued him through Moray, Caithness and Sutherland;[44] and he at length took him and imprisoned him in Roxburgh Castle. There he remained until he had made full amends and softened the king's wrath, and he left his son Torfin as a hostage in his stead; but the latter had his genitals

cut out and his eyes plucked out on account of his father's bad faith, and died in prison. In the year 1198 was born Alexander II., future king of Scotland, and son of the above-mentioned King William, amid the rejoicings of all the people of the land, while the whole clergy solemnly lifted up their voices in honour of the day and praised God. He was born of Queen Emergarde at Haddington at the Feast of Saint Bartholomew; and the clergy, clad in stoles, went about at primes in processions in the ecclesiastical places throughout the whole kingdom, rejoicing with very great joy.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Death of the King of the English.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Peace between the Kings of France and England.

In the year 1200 peace was restored between the two kings of France and England, and there were the nuptials of Louis,[45] only son of King Philip of France, with Blanche, daughter of the king of Castille and niece of the king of the English; in honour of which marriage John king of England made over to the aforesaid Louis and his heirs all the fortresses, castles and towns and the whole of the land which the king of the French had taken from him, as well as the whole of the land which the said king of England had in French parts, namely Auvergne, Berry (as the French now call the duchy of Bituricum), and the county of Evreux into the bargain, in case he died without a true and lawful heir. On his return to England he was met by King William, who did homage to him at Lincoln expressly and only for his lands within the kingdom and territory of England, which John's father had formerly restored to him in England,—for the lands, namely, which his predecessors held in England,—without prejudice to all and sundry his lands, dominions, dignities, liberties and royal privileges and honours, without any jot of subjection, or of jurisdiction, superiority, or dominion over the king, kingdom, or inhabitants of Scotland.

At this time a certain earl of Orkney, Harald by name, was led by the reports of certain persons to believe that the bishop of Caithness had charged him before the king with being the

king's enemy; wherefore the said earl attacked that bishop and put out his eyes and cut out his tongue. But when he had placed himself of his own accord unconditionally at the disposal of the king and the prelates of the Church, and had been by their sentence obliged to make full amends, the king and clergy forgave him, and the king gave him back his earldom of Caithness, which he had for that cause invaded and withheld; and, on paying the king two thousand merks,[46] he freely made his peace with him. In the year 1201 King William made all the magnates of the realm swear fealty at Musselburgh to his eldest son Alexander the Second, as yet but three years old. In the previous year John, legate of the Church of Rome and cardinal of Saint Stephen's, had held a council of clergy at Perth, and had at that council adjudged by an ecclesiastical sentence that many who had received holy orders on Sunday were to be removed from ministration at the altar, and had deprived them. Then this cardinal legate retired hence to Ireland, taking with him the abbot of Melrose, whom he appointed bishop of Down.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Quarrel between the Kings of England and France.

* * * * *

UNABLE to pour out his wrath upon France as matters then stood, King John, to vent his spleen, though most unjustly, laid a snare against King William of Scotland and, from a wish to recover Berwick, directed that the foundations of a castle should be firmly laid at Tweedmouth. But, when the masons and the other things needful for the building of the fortalice he had planned had been brought there, King William of Scotland, who would by no means allow that, twice ignominiously routed the workmen, slew some of the guards, carried off others, and razed the new work to the ground. Wherefore King John was fired with rage, levied an army to try with all his might to avenge the overthrow of the new work, and set about making war upon the said King William; and, when he had reached Norham, near the river Tweed, with a strong force, he sent to King William, who was at Roxburgh, ambassadors to defy and ensnare him. King William, however, who was fully alive to all this, and was nobly supported, prepared on his side to defend himself, his people and his rights. So a great many ambassadors were then sent backwards and forwards, and letters in writing despatched and received; but King William,

knowing he had a just quarrel, stood fast in a spirited defence of his right, and would not give heed to any idle words or cozening pleas. The king of England, however, through the medium of some prelates,[47] sent the said William many commands and exhortations of various kinds, which were neither true nor according to law, nor advantageous to the inhabitants of the realm, but altogether contrary to the king's majesty and the freedom of the realm and the good of the inhabitants. These were all brought to nought, disproved and disallowed, and the king said he would bring forward others greater than those; but, notwithstanding all these high-minded intentions, a friendly reconciliation was brought about, by the intervention of the prelates[47] and other peace-loving lords of both kingdoms, between the king of the English, who had more important matters to attend to in French parts, and the Scots king his cousin; but it did not last long.

CHAPTER XL.

Fickleness and faithlessness of the English.

After King William, therefore, who was afterwards for a long time grievously sick, had recovered, having a short breathing-time of peace with the king of the English, he held a general council at Stirling, and sent back some nobles as ambassadors in return for an embassy sent to the aforesaid King William to make and safely establish peace. But when King John heard them and their instructions, he raged like a madman, and broke out in loud vows and threats against the king and kingdom of Scotland; and the ambassadors returned with their thankless answer, and finding King William at Forfar, brought him back unexpected and not very pleasant reports and news. Upon hearing these, King William straightway took counsel and with great energy furnished all the castles and strongest places of the kingdom both with troops of men-at-arms and with plenty of provisions and other things needful for the defence of the kingdom and inhabitants; and he moreover commanded a large army of knights and men-at-arms to be got ready in all the borders of the kingdom to meet any hostile attempt on the part of the said king of England, whenever it might be necessary and the case demanded it. When all this had been thus accomplished, King William, wishing to regain peace, if it could be done with honour, sent back again ambassadors of his own of more weight than the former, namely

the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow,[48] together with the abbot of Melrose and some knights who loved peace, and wrote back offering everything lawful and reasonable. They did not, however, find the king of England, who had shortly before marched into Wales for reinforcements of men-at-arms; so they tarried awhile awaiting him. Meanwhile the earl of Winton and two knights named De Ross and De Quincy came to the king at Edinburgh on behalf of the king of England, and sought an audience with the view more of delaying the Scottish king's army than of negotiating for a treaty of peace; but in the meantime, while the king and his councillors would have granted them an audience, the above-mentioned bishops,[49] with the abbot and the others, returned and announced that the king of the English was making with all haste for the borders of Scotland, with a countless force of men-at-arms. Upon hearing this, King William soon mustered his forces and forthwith marched quickly against him to the borders of the Marches, equally with no mean force of men-at-arms, and prepared to give battle without delay to the aforesaid king thus on his way. Nevertheless, he speedily sent back the aforesaid bishops and abbot[50] to that king to retard his arrival in Scotland, on the faith of peace and concord, and delay it and put it off with words of peace until he should have fully got his army together. But when the king of England with his army had reached Bamborough, and the king of Scotland was at Melrose with troops of men-at-arms pouring in to him from all parts and awaiting the coming of the enemy, lo, the king of the English, seeing him provided with so great a number of men-at-arms,[51]—through the mediation of some of either side who loved peace, the king of Scotland agreed to the said English king's request, without prejudice to the rights of both kingdoms, and peace was restored.

CHAPTER XLI.

Terms of the Treaty of Peace.

Through the intervention, therefore, of the chiefs and prelates of both kingdoms, the kings were at length committed to the following condition of peace, namely that King William of Scotland should hand over his two daughters, Margaret and Isabel, into the hands of the king of the English to be married, the eldest, Margaret, to Henry, the said King John's son, when they became of full age, and the other to his

younger brother Richard, or to some other noble lord, as might consist with her father's honour; provided, however, that, if either of King John's sons died before he took a wife, the survivor should marry the aforesaid eldest daughter. In like manner it was determined about the daughters that, if either of them died before she came to be married, the other should wed the English king's firstborn, that so they might make sure of one of them being espoused to that one of the sons to whom the inheritance of England might come. After this, the kings and their councillors came together at Norham to establish a secure and lasting peace, and it was agreed that the castle which King John endeavoured to construct at Tweedmouth should never thereafter be built; and, for the indignity which King William put upon the said King John by razing the said castle to the ground in spite of him, the said King William was to pay him four thousand pounds. Moreover, the traders of Scotland were, as usual, to have free and peaceful access to England to transact any business and trade of theirs whatsoever,—always without prejudice to the ancient privileges, liberties and honours of the king of Scotland; and, on account of the said marriages, the king of Scotland was to pay to the aforesaid king of England ten thousand pounds within two years, at four terms, besides the aforesaid sum of four thousand pounds, that all and sundry the above stated points might abide in force. Moreover, in order that all the aforesaid might remain the more secure and stable, two knights were chosen on behalf of the aforesaid kings, namely William Cumyn, justiciary of Scotland, on behalf of King William, and Robert de Vieupont on behalf of the king of England, and were charged with the duty of taking an oath on the agreement with their hands on God's holy Gospel, by the souls of the aforesaid kings; and in like manner all the chiefs, prelates and men of quality of both kingdoms agreed in gladly taking a like oath to do their best to maintain peace; and, that all suspicion to the contrary, so far as the king of Scotland was concerned, might be removed from their midst, the king, now well stricken in years, reflecting on the advantages of peace, for further security that peace would be maintained, gave the king of England thirteen hostages, whom he despatched, together with the aforesaid girls, to the aforesaid king of England at Carlisle, and delivered into the hands of that king's councillors.

CHAPTER XLII.

Agreement entered into over and above.

In the year 1210 it was agreed between the kings that the king of Scotland should resign into the hands of the king of England, purely and simply, all his lands, possessions and domains whatsoever, which he had from old time held within that kingdom, freely, entirely and fully of the kings of England; and that the said king of England should give back the said lands to the Scots king's eldest son, Alexander, to be held of him and by doing homage. This was done at Alnwick, where the said Alexander did homage of fealty to the aforesaid king of the English, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the kingdom of Scotland; and he was to hold them as freely, quietly, honourably and fully as any of his predecessors whatsoever had formerly held the same of the said kings of the English. It was also added that the kings of Scotland should never thenceforth do homage for the said lands to the said kings of England or their successors on the throne, but that only he who was the heir to the throne for the time being should do homage for the said lands. Subsequently, two days after,[51] the aforesaid covenants, agreements and conditions and treaties of peace were again bindingly sworn at Norham, confirmed by the kings, and approved by their authority in the presence of the magnates of the kingdoms, prelates and lords; and there, in presence of the queen of Scotland, the treaties of peace and the amicable agreement, which were to stand fast for ever, were renewed by charters and bonds drawn up on either part; and, in order to knit closer the bond of affection, the aforesaid king of England girded the Scots king's aforenamed eldest son Alexander, then in his fourteenth year, with the belt of knighthood in London. It should be stated that, as I find in the Great Chronicle, this King John received, as sovereign lord, the principal and mediate homage of all freeholders whatsoever in the kingdom, from whatever baron, duke,[53] or earl they might hold their land, compelling all the freeholders of both prelates and laymen to do this.

At this time there was so great an overflow of rain-water at Perth, and elsewhere likewise, that it entirely knocked down and carried away the bridge and a chapel. In this year also King John of England brought the greater part of Ireland under his yoke. The same year was founded the monastery of the Insula Missarum, otherwise however called Inchaffray, by Gilbert

earl of Strathern, who divided his said earldom into three equal parts, gave two-thirds to the bishop of Dunblane and the aforesaid abbot, and kept only the third part for himself. In these days also King John made an inhuman and tyrannous invasion of Ireland, and subdued the greater part thereof, and carried off with him the sons of the magnates of the country as hostages; and about this time fresh hostilities broke out between King John and the Welsh. But the king of England made over to Alan of Galloway, constable of Scotland, many lands in Ireland to be held of him, for which the latter did homage to him by King William's leave. King William, however, about this time led a large army against a certain Macwilliam[54] who was tyrannising it in Moray, and he there built two strong castles; and Macwilliam was taken, after he had perpetrated many atrocities, was dragged at a horse's tail, beheaded and hung. Meanwhile King John brought Wales under his yoke, built there three very strong castles, and received the homage of the king thereof, retaining, however, the new castles in his own hands.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Peace between the Kings and Kingdoms established and sworn again for the third time at Norham.

At this time it was agreed between the kings of Scotland and England that they should have an interview at Norham, where it was decided that peace should be established for ever, and some persons of note were put forward to swear upon the kings' consciences that peace should be cemented afresh and maintained, and also that each should lend assistance to the other in a just cause and in his lawful quarrels; and that whichever of them was the survivor should guard and defend the other's heir as he would his own, and afford him help and assistance. When all this had been thus concluded and ratified and made valid by oaths and seals, King William of Scotland received a promise from the king of England that he, King John, would give in marriage to the Scottish king's first-born Alexander a lady and heiress of such rank and power as fitly and honourably to uphold the honour of both kingdoms and of the king's majesty, and this within the six years next and immediately ensuing. So King William, now infirm and advanced in years, above measure desiring peace, justice and quietness between the inhabitants of the two kingdoms, ceaselessly and earnestly laboured for the boon of peace, and was engaged

almost beyond his strength, making no sort of allowance for his age, in settling differences. But, notwithstanding divers treaties of peace repeatedly sworn and given force to by many a seal, the king of England determined to bring the kingdom of Scotland under his yoke by underhand means, and annex it to his crown, as he had formerly done with Ireland, and to subject it to the bonds of slavery for ever, as was afterwards most clearly apparent. For the king of England came a third time to Norham, of his own accord, for the sake of a more indissoluble treaty of peace, and sent word to the king of Scotland, who had previously been laid up with a long illness at Newbottle, and who apologised for not being able to come further than Haddington to meet him. So the king of England, who was then at Norham, seeing that King William excused himself on the score of ill-health, sent him back word to send over to him his only son and heir Alexander, and promised that he would give him a great many presents. King William, however, understood from the evidence of trustworthy persons that the aforesaid king of England was bent upon outwitting him as far as he could, under the cloak of confidence, as already intimated; and this was afterwards evident to him on the faith of his own eyes. So he would by no means consent that his said son, the prince and heir to the throne, should be sent over to him, for more reasons than one; first, because he was too young and did not know how to answer well enough the many questions the king might ask him; secondly, because he feared his malice aforethought; and, thirdly, because he was the coming king of the kingdom and his father's heir, and the king himself in his old age was suffering from illness, ready to die any day or hour, and was not sure of his son's return in freedom. So the king of England, seeing himself foiled in his wishes, was greatly indignant, and immediately returned to England; and, disguising his resentment, he tarried there awhile. But though he durst not, for many reasons, make an attempt upon Scotland, yet not the less was mischief in his thoughts. But he feared the boldness of the Scots, as well as the inroads of the Welsh, and moreover the rebellion and strife of the nobles of his kingdom; and he also feared that the rebellion he had formerly been guilty of against the Apostolic See would injure him. In these days, at the command of the Apostolic See, and at the instance of its legates, numberless nobles of Scotland and England and likewise of other kingdoms went on a crusade to the Holy Land in defence of the faith.

CHAPTER XLIV.

King William's Death.

In the year 1214 that most prosperous King William, after his recovery from the illness he was laid up with at Newbattle and Haddington, set out for Moray, so as to leave nothing in his kingdom unsettled; and there he patched up a peace with the earl of Caithness, and brought away his daughter as a hostage. Then with great difficulty and in great bodily weakness he got to Stirling, where he purposed remaining on account of the healthiness of the air (it divides, or, as it was called of old, connects,[55] Scotland and Greater Britain, as used of old to be clearly seen on the rim of the seal of the said royal burgh of Stirling, which is called the Common Seal of the Burgh, in the following couplet:—

> Continet hoc in se pontem castrum Strivelense.
> Hæc armis Bruti stant, hic Scoti cruce tuti).

Here the said most excellent prince lingered for some time in failing strength and departed this life, giving his body into the keeping of the mother of all, and sending back his soaring spirit to his Maker with all devoutness and thanksgiving. He slept in the Lord on a Thursday in December, after a reign of forty-nine years, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, leaving King Alexander as his heir. Pope Lucius, however, hearing from the royal ambassadors who came to the court of Rome, as well as from the apostolic nuncios returning from his court, a most noble account of the deceased King William, that he had the zeal of God in him, as he understood it, and took great pains to uphold his kingdom's laws, sent over as it were to his orthodox catholic son, together with God's blessing, a marvellously-fashioned and very valuable golden rose to fix upon his sceptre or golden wand. Moreover King William, perceiving the fickleness of King John of England, took back one of his daughters from him, and gave her in marriage to the Count of Boulogne. The preceding year,[56] he gave one of his daughters to one Robert de Bruce; but I do not find it here stated who this Robert de Bruce was. The following year he gave another daughter of his to Patrick earl of Lothian. She also who married Robert de Bruce was afterwards, on his death, married to one Robert de Ross, as stated elsewhere.[57]

CHAPTER XLV.

Copy of Apostolic Bull sent to King William on the Privileges of the Church of Scotland.

Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his well-beloved son in Christ, William, illustrious king of Scots, and to his successors for ever, Greeting and apostolic blessing: Though all Christ's faithful ought to find patronage and favour with the Apostolic See, yet it is meet that the fostering shelter of its protection should more especially be extended to those who have given the most ample proof of faith and devotion, so that the more surely they know themselves to have sought after a token of its good-will and favour, the more they may be stirred to warmth of love and overmastered by a devout feeling of reverence towards it. Therefore, well-beloved son in Christ, bearing in mind the reverence and devotion which We have for a long time back known thee to entertain for the Church of Rome, We, following the example of Pope Celestine of happy memory, Our predecessor, most strictly forbid, by the terms of this present writ, that any but the Roman Pontiff, or a legate despatched *a latere*, should be allowed to proclaim an interdict or sentence of excommunication against the kingdom of Scotland; and We pronounce it of none effect if so proclaimed, seeing that the Church of Scotland is immediately subject to the Apostolic See, whose daughter she especially is,—wherein it is well known there are these episcopal sees, namely the Churches of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross and Caithness. And furthermore We add that it shall not henceforth be lawful to any one not of the kingdom of Scotland, save one whom the Apostolic See shall have specially despatched therefor from itself personally, to perform the duties of the legateship in that kingdom. We also forbid that any disputes which may arise in that kingdom about property be brought under the consideration of judges outside the kingdom, unless there is an appeal to the Church of Rome. So, if any writs shall be found to have been obtained contrary to the establishment of a liberty of this kind, or any shall hereafter happen to be obtained wherein no mention is made of this present regulation, neither thou nor thy successors nor the kingdom itself shall in anywise be prejudiced with regard to the granting of this prerogative. Moreover, We confirm the liberties and immunities granted both to thee and

to thy kingdom as an established law[58] by the Church of Rome, and hitherto observed; and We ordain that they remain unimpaired for all time to come, always saving Our Apostolic authority. Let no man therefore at all infringe these the terms of our grant, confirmation and prohibition, or in anywise rashly dare to go against them; and, if any take upon him to attempt this, he will know that he will fall under the indignation of Almighty God and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, etc.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Like Privilege granted to King William.

Celestine, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his well-beloved son in Christ, William, illustrious king of Scots, and to his successors, Greeting and apostolic blessing: Though all subject to Christ's yoke ought to find patronage with the Apostolic See, *and so forth, as above, down to* entertain for the Church of Rome, have thought it right to establish by the terms of this present writ that the Scottish Church ought to be immediately subject to the Apostolic See, whose daughter she especially is—wherein it is well known, *etc., down to* So if any; *then thus:* So, if any writs shall be found to have been obtained, or shall happen hereafter to be obtained, contrary to the establishment of a liberty of this kind, neither thou nor thy kingdom shall in anywise be prejudiced with regard to the granting of this prerogative, *etc.* Let no man therefore, *as above.* Given at Rome, at the Lateran, March 13th, of our Pontificate, *etc.*

About this time the general interdict was renewed in England and likewise in Wales over the whole universally; so that, save only the baptism of innocent little ones, which was performed outside the church, every order, every religious brotherhood, every dignity, fell under the interdict, and no privileges could avail them aught. Then indeed there lay unburied outside the cemeteries the corpses of Christians without number, both of bishops and abbots and of priests, clerics and laymen. At length the clergy obtained as a special favour from the Pope that friars and conventual cloisterers might have a celebration once a week without chanting or ringing of bells, and with closed doors, shutting out the excommunicated and interdicted. During this interdict a good many English bishops came to live in Scotland; and King William honourably supplied them with the necessaries of life, and

reverently received them in his kingdom. The same year Alan of Galloway, son of Rotholand, took to wife Margaret daughter of David earl of Huntingdon.

At the above-mentioned time the Emperor Otho was raised to the imperial throne; and some say that in his journey to Rome for his coronation he took with him thirty thousand knights in his train. Believe it who can! Thus ends the Sixth Book of this work.

End of Book VI.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

King Alexander, son of the aforesaid King William.

Upon the death of that mighty prince, William king of Scots, at Stirling, as before stated, he was buried at Arbroath with great honour as well as wailing, accompanied by the prelates and lords of the realm and a very large body of nobles; and by common consent all the chiefs, prelates and lords of the realm at once unanimously raised his son Alexander to the throne, and crowned him with the kingly diadem at Scone, on the Feast of Saint Nicholas;[1] and there he held a long and solemn royal feast in great state, as was meet. David earl of Huntingdon and the mother of the said King Alexander joined in the feast, and, though mourning for the late most noble king, yet rejoiced and gave thanks to God for the new king. It was indeed only just that King William should be buried at the said monastery of Arbroath, which he himself had built from its foundations, founded and magnificently endowed with a great many revenues and ornaments, so that he and his parents might be had in eternal remembrance in the prayers of the friars and the intercession of the saints.

CHAPTER II.

King Philip of France defeats the Emperor Otho and King John of England in battle.

CHAPTER III.

King John of England makes the kingdoms of England and Ireland feudatory to the Roman Pontiff.

CHAPTER IV.

David of Huntingdon and his death—But first certain acts of King Alexander against the King of England.

In these days the barons and nobles of England, who would not brook the grievances and misapplied and wrongfully assessed customs which King John of England daily heaped upon them, bound themselves by a common oath with one accord to insist upon the king's maintaining[2] undamaged and intact the ancient liberties and privileges of the realm and its approved customs, as was the case towards both church and realm in the time of Henry Beauclerk of happy memory; which privileges and liberties that King Henry, son of William the Bastard, granted at the instance of his queen Maud, the Good Queen of England, that is to say the daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and the blessed Margaret; and for love of her they were granted and confirmed to the aforesaid kingdom for ever, according to the tenor of the said King Henry's charter drawn up thereupon, the tenor whereof is in effect as follows, etc.; for that otherwise they would withdraw themselves from his authority and dominion. But, when the king had put them off with repeated delays by false promises, they were at length with one accord stirred up against him, refused him any delay, avoided an interview with him, and were minded to settle the matter by arms; and they beset[3] King Alexander of Scotland and Llewellyn king of Wales with prayers and promises, and bound them to the barons of England by the same ties of alliance, notwithstanding that the king of Wales had before this taken the said King John's daughter to wife. So King Alexander gathered his forces together and marched into England; and he brought Northumberland under his yoke and received the homage of the vassals thereof. When King John heard this, he advanced into Scotland with a host of retainers; and he burnt, destroyed and laid waste everything he came across, to wit Dunbar and Haddington and many other places. King Alexander, however, got together a stronger force and encamped at Pentland, longing to have an encounter with the king of the English; but King John, knowing his gallantry, turned aside and went back to his own country by another way; but, in his rage against his own barons from the cause stated above, he laid waste with sword and fire and rapine all their lands on his return journey, beginning at Wark and Alnwick; and he burnt down Mitford and Morpeth and many other towns. At Rox-

burgh and Berwick he spared neither sex nor order nor age, but delivered over everything to fire and sword, crucifying the Scots by the feet and hands, and some by the fingers and toes; and, after plundering the Abbey of Coldingham, King John burnt down the very house where he himself had lodged, setting fire to it with his own hands, in defiance of kingly majesty and seemliness. But when King Alexander heard of his retreat, he went back again to Northumberland, desiring, it is said, to have an encounter with him; and, while the king of England made the best of his way to the midland parts of England, King Alexander burnt and destroyed all the country as far as Carlisle.

CHAPTER V.

David, Earl of Huntingdon.

(*This chapter should come before the one immediately preceding.*)

On the death, as before stated, of that mighty prince King William, his brother David earl of Huntingdon, although neither active in mind nor vigorous in body, hastened to have his nephew Alexander crowned at Scone as quickly as he could, that the kingdom might have a ruler. King William had formerly given the aforesaid David, his brother, the earldom of Huntingdon to hold of him, the earldom of Garioch together with Strabolgy (Strathbogie), and the town of Dundee, Inverbervie, Lanforgonde and Inchmartin and Lindores,[4] together with many other broad lands and estates. His wife was the daughter of the earl of Chester in England; and of her he begat three sons, one of whom got the earldom of Chester, and a second succeeded him in his other domains;[5] but they died childless. Of the same wife also he begat three very beautiful daughters: Margaret he married to Alan of Galloway; the second, Isabel, he gave to Robert de Bruce to wife, and from her the present line of kings of Scotland is acknowledged to have issued;[6] Ada, the third daughter, he wedded to Henry of Hastings. But Earl David, after having founded the monastery of Lindores, was overtaken by death at Jerdelay, in the year 1219, bequeathing and intrusting his body to the mother of all and his spirit to the Lord who created him, and lies buried at the monastery of Sawtreia. Of the descent of the aforesaid daughters of the said David of Huntingdon we shall speak presently.

CHAPTER VI.

The Dauphin Louis, the eldest son of the King[7] of France, comes to England.

Meanwhile the noble barons of England, being subjected to the yoke of fell servitude by the tyrant king, wrote to Philip, the most Christian king of the French, to send them over his firstborn Louis the Dauphin of Vienne, whom they with one accord agreed to take as their king, discarding the tyrant who filled the throne. The king of France yielded to their wishes, especially to restore the liberty of the barons and the Church; and, after receiving hostages from the barons of England, he despatched to England his son Louis, provided with arms and accompanied[8] by a countless armed soldiery, in a fleet properly equipped with all needful necessaries. Louis therefore, trusting that King Alexander would be there in person, owing to their time-honoured alliance, adopted a bold course and landed in England on an island called Thanet. The king of England, however, who with his army was at that time awaiting him at Sandwich, about the nearest harbour to the aforesaid island, durst not attack them, but betook himself to a safer spot. So Louis came to London on Whitsunday in the year 1216, the ninth year of King Alexander of Scotland, and he and his followers were received by the barons with unspeakable joy. King Alexander of Scotland, on the other hand, again assembled a fresh army and entered England on the ninth day of August,[9] injuring no one but the hangers-on of King John; and he found Louis, the Dauphin of France, at Dover, and was honourably received by him with gladness; and, after tarrying with him fifteen days at a stretch arranging their affairs, he set about returning to Scotland. In the meantime King John had broken down the bridges, sunk the boats, and everywhere cut through the fords, and was striving to bar his progress at the river Trent; but just then, as he was devising this mischief, God ordained that he should end his life at Newark after a short illness. King Alexander of Scotland then broke up John's army, overthrew many castles and plundered his enemy's lands, and returned to his own country with much riches and great honour and glory, and without any loss. John was succeeded by his son Henry III., as appears in the Catalogue.[10]

None for King John a mourning heart displays.
He did no good, but evil all his days.

CHAPTER VII.

Return of Louis son of the King of France.

Louis then landed in France and got back to his own country without loss. At this same time King Alexander of Scotland invaded England, and took and fortified Carlisle. Next we read that in these days the castle of Lincoln was besieged by the barons of England and the partisans of Louis; but, upon the sudden arrival of Gualo, the legate of the Church of Rome, with the army of Henry the new king of England, the siege was raised, and in one moment of time, so to speak, all the barons and nobles who had before sided with the above-named Louis were taken, together with a certain French count deputed by Louis to command them:[11] all the others were consigned to close imprisonment. King Philip, however, seeing his son so played with, and the nobles of England who cleaved to him so thrust into cruel imprisonment, and relying upon King Alexander of Scotland, again fitted out a fleet, and prepared to give battle to the English once more;[12] but, when the prelates of England and other lovers of peace heard this, fearing the arrival in England of the powerful king of Scots, they negotiated a reconciliation, and made a peace between Louis and Henry the new king of England, after receiving a pledge that all who had risen with Louis in England against the said Henry king of England or against his father would be restored to the former state in which they were before the beginning of the quarrel. Thereupon Louis came back to England under a safe-conduct,[13] and freed with honour all the captives, prisoners and those in bonds, and all their property and goods were restored to them; and, having thus had a lesson of the perfidy of the English, he went back to France. Let therefore the Scots princes and lords of our day take warning by them, lest, having found out their deceit of old and their wicked treachery and dissimulation, they be rashly and guilelessly deceived, being led astray, like others, by a show of kindness. For their dregs are not yet drained so dry but that, while that people is strong, all who trust in them will drink thereof: for these may in their character be likened to the nature of a most foul scorpion, pricking with poisoned sting and killing those who are most neighbourly to them and shelter them in their bed. Let then the Scottish chiefs, both churchmen and lay, rejoice that the Lord hath humbled their enemies for naught, and that his hand is upon them that afflict them; for He hath delivered

them into the hands of the enemy, and they that hate them have dominion over them. For such a thing has never from everlasting been seen as that the most mighty king of the English,[14] with his wife and firstborn, and many English chiefs in their utmost need, as it were exiled from the kingdom, should come to the kingdom of Scotland and ask help from the king and barons; and moreover they met with so much kindness and advice and help and favour from them, that they could justly say, "Salvation from our enemies and from the hand of all that hate us." For, as often as an enemy comes into the power of a prince, mercy, favour and grace are due to him from the clemency of the prince. For it is the lion's noblest attribute to spare the fallen. So also the Lord saith, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Interdict and Excommunication of the Kingdom of Scotland.

In this year the king of Scotland besieged the castle of Mitford on his way towards Dover to Louis; but, on hearing of his departure, he left the castle and returned to Scotland. At this time Malcolm earl of Fife founded the monastery of Culross, and the following year he founded the nunnery of North Berwick. But, because King Alexander had, for love of Louis the firstborn of the king of the French, played such havoc in England with his army, and done damage beyond measure, Gualo, the legate of the Apostolic See in England, put the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict, and excommunicated the king and all the inhabitants generally who had been especially his companions in the crimes committed in the said kingdom of England. But, to know the causes of this excommunication and interdict, we must observe that the first reason was because the said king of Scotland, with his army and other inhabitants, had had dealings with John king of the English at the time of the interdict of the aforesaid King John and his kingdom; and also all the prelates of Scotland, after the king had fallen under the sentence of excommunication because of his dealings with the king of the English, the aforesaid legate excommunicated them and pronounced them excommunicated by virtue of a sentence of excommunication passed at the Lateran Council, where, after the reconciliation of John king of England, because he made himself and his realms feudatory to the Church of Rome, the Pope excommunicated all who fought

against him and his realm. The second reason was on account of the favour and aid which he extended to Louis, the son of the king of the French, against the aforesaid King John. The third reason was that the king of Scotland had, in contempt of the king of England, pulled down the castle built by the king of England at Tweedmouth, opposite the castle of Berwick. The fourth reason was because the king of Scotland would not, when directed by the said legate, surrender the castle and town of Carlisle to the king of England, as being his; but the aforesaid legate compelled the said Alexander king of Scotland to restore that town of Carlisle, together with other estimated damages, before being absolved, after, however, a perpetual alliance of peace between the kings and kingdoms had been first established and sworn: for the said king was, together with those who were bound by that sentence, absolved at Tweedmouth by the bishops of York and Durham. Afterwards, while the king of Scotland was at Northampton under the safe-conduct of the king of England, he did that king homage for the lands he held of him in England, and, after he had done homage, personally surrendered him back Carlisle; and, after peace had been again established at the instance of the legate, he went back to Scotland in kindness and love on either side, and with the legate's blessing. Nevertheless he could not obtain that the prelates and clergy should be included under the protection of this peace; but shortly afterwards both a sentence of excommunication and a general interdict throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland were proclaimed by the said legate, through what motive I know not; and the Scottish Church left off divine service, except those religious and monks who had special privileges. Thus the aforesaid legate pronounced all the clergy whatsoever, both religious and secular, excommunicated, suspended and interdicted, except, however, the bishop of Saint Andrews, who was out of the kingdom at the time of the offence. At length, however, a good while afterwards, the aforesaid legate by his commissaries, the bishops of York and Durham, granted the benefit of absolution to all the prelates, on the payment of some money and the giving of a pledge that they would abide by the mandates of the Church; and such as had not the amount were despatched by them to the Court of Rome to get their absolution. Now the Scots prelates and clergy let the aforesaid extravagant and improper fines pass, to the detriment of the Scottish Church, and through slothfulness behaved lukewarmly; for while they could, on the strength of their privileges which they carelessly ignored, have made a spirited appeal to the Roman pontiff, they with one

accord submitted to heavy expenses and disgrace to the Church, the clergy and prelates, as well as all the inhabitants of the kingdom; while they could for a thousand pounds for the prosecution of the appeal have escaped the danger, they were unable with ten thousand pounds at all to satisfy the aforesaid golden legate and the commissaries he despatched into Scotland. Hence it is quite clear that the clergy and prelates at that time were greatly found wanting towards the Church; for they seem to have yielded obedience, not to a judge of their own, but to the legate of another and a hostile kingdom, when they could have lawfully objected to him. When, therefore, some of the excommunicated came to the Church of Rome and craved the benefit of absolution, a certain cardinal said, smiling, in the Pope's presence, "It is natural to dutiful minds to beg forgiveness when there is nothing to forgive." Now, while some subdelegated commissaries were returning from Aberdeen, they put up at Lindores on their way; and having set their room on fire during the night, they were so frightened that the Prior of Durham was overtaken by death, and expired at Coldingham. After this, envoys were sent by King Alexander to the Court of Rome, that the privileges and liberties of the kingdom of Scotland might be expressly renewed and confirmed by the Pope; and the aforesaid privileges were restored to their former state.

CHAPTER IX.

King Alexander's nuptials.

In the year 1219, in which Corradin, son of Saladin and Sultan of the Turks, destroyed Jerusalem, King Henry of England, in order to secure the peace more safely, united his very beautiful sister in marriage with Alexander king of Scots; and to draw the peaceful alliance still closer, the said King Alexander handed over his two sisters to the aforesaid king of England to marry to English princes of the highest rank, the king of England promising, in the presence of a legate of England named Pandulph and a great many other lords of the realms who were present and bound themselves likewise thereto, to see that they made the most splendid marriages in the kingdom, with all becoming honour, as if they were his own daughters. The same year and the next the king assembled an army, and marching into Galloway, which was still in rebellion, severely punished it;[15] and he afterwards crossed into Argyll,

which was transgressing in like manner, and restored order and bestowed the confiscated lands and goods in plenty upon his deserving lieges who accompanied him. The natives, however, forsook their estates and goods and fled the country. The following year the bones of Saint Thomas the Martyr were translated. In the year 1221 a certain canon of Paris came to Scotland as legate of the apostolic see, and held a general council at Perth. About the same time some menials, limbs of the devil, smote, wounded, and cudgelled the bishop of Caithness, formerly abbot of Melrose, and burnt him with fire in his own house; and they consumed with fire his house and all his goods, together with a companion of his, a monk. This crime King Alexander punished most fiercely and cruelly, and he put to death many of the evil-doers of that country; and forasmuch as the earl of Caithness, although not privy to it, had pretended ignorance and not stopped those evil-doers, or done his best to prevent their misdeeds, the king, after a long imprisonment,[16] disgraced him, and dispossessed him of half of his inheritance, the said earldom; and he, moreover, exacted from him a large sum of money. And the Lord of all would not let the earl's negligence go unpunished; for He shortly after gave his own men the power and means to slay him treacherously in his own house, and then burn him and his house and furniture with fire, as had been the case with the murdered bishop. A little while after, however, Isabel, King Alexander's sister, notwithstanding the aforesaid promises of the king of England, went back to Scotland to her brother unmarried; and herein observe the fickleness and perfidy of the English.

CHAPTER X.

Death of Philip king of the French.

In the year 1224 King Alexander imposed upon the kingdom of Scotland a tax of a certain sum, namely, ten thousand pounds sterling, as a subsidy for the marriage of his sisters; but no charities were charged with the payment of any part of the amount of this subsidy. In the year 1229 the blessed King Edward's church of Bulmurinach (Balmerino) was founded by King Alexander and his mother, Ermergarde by name. The same year Malcolm earl of Fife died, and was buried at Culross, in Saint Servanus church, which he himself had founded. This King Alexander founded the priory of Pluscardyn and of Beauly.[17] In the year 1231 King Alexander made Walter,

son of Alan of Galloway (who was the first who was called Stewart in Scotland, for he was in fact the Steward thereof)—he made him Grand Justiciary of Scotland. The brother of this Alan of Galloway, who was earl of Athol, died and was buried at Cupar. The same year John earl of Caithness was slain and burnt in his own house by some menials, as aforesaid. The following year the earl of the Marches and lord of Dunbar assumed the cowl at Melrose, and departed this life not long after. The same year the churches of Arbroath, Cupar and Newbottle were dedicated. The same year Alan of Galloway gave his daughter to John de Balliol to wife, and his sister to Walter de Bisset; and William Cumyn earl of Buchan, who founded the church of Deer, died. Louis king of France wedded the daughter of the count of Provence. Saint Edmund was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Alan of Galloway, son of Rotholand of Galloway, died (this Alan was at that time Constable of Scotland), and lies buried at Dundrennan. He left three daughters as his heiresses, the first of whom was married to Roger de Quincy earl of Winchester, the second to John de Balliol, and the third to the earl of Albemarle; and the land of the said Alan of Galloway was divided among them. This was very distasteful to the tenants of the said lands, who would rather have had his natural son Thomas be his heir; so the natives rose and, together with that Thomas, attacked and wasted with fire and sword all the neighbouring lands of the king, because he would not consent to this. But the lord king afterwards peacefully awed them into submission. At this period the Gallwegians rebelled again, and the king made their leader, the illegitimate or bastard son of Alan of Galloway, fly the kingdom into Ireland; and all the magnates of the country who were his abettors humbly, with hangman's ropes round their necks, craved the king's pardon. So the mild and merciful king, willing that mercy should prevail over severity, granted them pardon and peace, following the prophet who saith, "Mercy and judgment will I sing unto thee," etc. The following year this Thomas, the bastard of Alan the Great of Galloway, returned from Ireland accompanied by some nobles of the country, and sued the king for pardon and peace; and when the king wished to punish and chastise him in the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh) for a time—observe this!—his comrades, together with the son of a petty king of Ireland, plundered Galloway, slew many, and mutilated and killed monks at Glenluce and Tongueland; and after having, on their way back through the country to their ships, plundered the burgesses of Glasgow and put many to death, they went back to Ireland. Two of their

chiefs, however, were taken and brought to the king, and were dragged at horses' heels, beheaded, and hung on the gallows at Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XI.

Mutual love between the kings of Scotland and England after the marriage contracted with the sister of the latter.

In the year 1237, the kings of Scotland and England held a solemn feast for fifteen days at York with their queens, and most lovingly and harmoniously treated of the more important affairs of the kingdoms; and afterwards each of the kings went home again safely to his own country. But the queen of Scotland, who was also the sister of King Henry of England and of the duke of Cornwall, set out with the queen of England on a pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Canterbury; and she departed this life during the said journey, and is buried at Tharent. Elsewhere, however, it is said, and with more truth, that this queen of Scotland died at Cupar in Fife, and is buried at Dunfermline Monastery, near the sainted King David. In the year of grace 1239, a certain cardinal legate *a latere* of the apostolic see came into Scotland and held a council at Edinburgh. The same year, also, King Alexander of Scotland, not having any offspring of his first wife, wedded another at Roxburgh, the daughter of the lord de Coucy, Mary by name, a native of France, and of her begat a son, named Alexander after his father, in the forty-fourth year of the said king's age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign. In this year, from the Sunday after Christmas to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, no rain fell upon the earth in these parts; and the wines were so strong that no one could easily drink them without water. Likewise, about the same time, the earl of Athol, a most handsome youth, was, with his whole household and two noble companions with him, villainously and treacherously burnt by night in his lodging at Haddington, by some ruffians not devoid of inveterate treachery and enmity; and because one William Besat was suspected of this deed, the king, at the request of the friends of the aforesaid earl of Athol at Edinburgh, that he should bring forward the said William Besat to answer to them, appointed a day. Accordingly, hosts of the friends of either side appearing, they proclaimed William Besat, as also his friends who were consenting and acting parties, condemned to perpetual banishment out of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and France; and all their lands and their whole

substance were confiscated to the king. The king, however, being merciful and sparing in the shedding of Christian blood, lightened the punishment of the misdeed, and bound them fast by an oath to go to the Holy Land and stay there for life, fighting against Christ's enemies. About the year 1243 a certain Scottish traitor maliciously came forward at the court of the English king, flattering him, and criminally accusing the king of Scotland, with foul lies and fawning fabrications; and he so provoked the said king of England and nearly all the chiefs of the country to vengeance, that the said king took up arms against King Alexander, assembled his forces, together with other magnates of the kingdom, at Newcastle, with the design of invading the kingdom of Scotland with the vast hosts of soldiery gathered together, and took counsel with his barons. For he had so exasperated the said king of England and the chiefs to vengeance, that the king wished to make every effort to bring the kingdom of Scotland absolutely under his yoke if he could. Upon hearing this, King Alexander straightway hastened to get himself ready to oppose him with no small number of men-at-arms, and encamped at Pentland on his way towards him. But when King Henry of England heard this, having had no idea that the king of Scotland would so soon find so large a force of men-at-arms ready, he yielded to the prayers of the lovers of peace, and was guided by the opinion of the prelates and chiefs; and so peace was restored between the parties, and each turned his horse's head and sped back to his own country. The following year many cities of Scotland were burnt down, to wit, Roxburgh, Haddington, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, Aberdeen,—they were by accident entirely consumed and reduced to ashes.

CHAPTER XII.

Certain events; and death of Alexander II.

Now a bastard son of the late Thomas of Athol, and late a natural brother of him who was burnt, committed many incredible atrocities in Ireland. The king of England, therefore, being angered at this, asked the reason thereof, and learnt that all this was done to take revenge on one John Besat, an exile from the kingdom of Scotland, because he was privy to his brother's death. So the king of England wrote to King Alexander to send that bastard to him to punish; but King Alexander denied that he was his vassal, and stated by letter

that he was a vagabond wandering throughout the world, and under no law. In the year 1249, that most renowned king of Scotland, Alexander II., who hated iniquity and loved righteousness, while marching into Argyll to allay the bickerings of animosity, was there seized with grievous sickness and borne off to an island which is called Carbery (Kerrera); and, after duly receiving the sacraments of eternal salvation, he gave up his contrite and humbled spirit to the Lord, and passed away in happiness from this life to his eternal inheritance. He rests in happiness inhumed at Melrose, as he directed in his last will; and may his soul abide with Christ in happiness. He died in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, on a Thursday in July. He was very just, long-suffering, kindly, mild, and merciful, and far-famed for every virtue. He left behind him his natural son Alexander III., who was at the early age of eight years set upon the royal stone at Scone by the chiefs and prelates of the country, and crowned, anointed[18] and consecrated with great solemnity and magnificence in the presence of all the chief magnates and lords of the realm; and he received the oath of fealty from all his lieges.

CHAPTER XIII.

Tenor of the Charter of Privileges at the instance of Maud the Good Queen of England, daughter of the Sainted Queen Margaret.

* * * * *

Here endeth the copy of the charter of the privileges of England, which privileges and liberties were, at the instance of Maud, daughter of the blessed Margaret and Malcolm king of Scotland, and called the Good Queen of England, granted by her husband, Henry king of the English, called Beauclerk in his time, etc. Some have it that this good queen rode through the streets of the city of London with no covering but the hair of her head, to beg the above-mentioned privileges of the king; and she was dubbed the Good Queen of England on account of her great goodness.

CHAPTER XIIII.

Beginning of Alexander III. king of Scots.

When therefore, as already said, all the magnates, prelates and chiefs of the realm were gathered together at Scone,

King Alexander III. was, after his father's death, unanimously raised to the throne, at the age of only eight, by the common consent of all, and, as usual, arrayed in the insignia of royalty, anointed and crowned. Afterwards, however, as was the custom of old, they led the king in all his royal robes to a certain cross in the cemetery, on the east side, with the whole multitude of the people, and there set him in great state on the royal chair of stone and marble which was brought over from Egypt. It is of that stone that the gods of the Egyptians spake when they said that, wherever that chair should be brought, there would the Scots reign, as we see from these lines:—

> "Unless the fates are false, the Scots will reign
> Where'er this fatal stone they find again."

And, from the fact that the said chair has been brought over to England, it follows that they must reign there, as we see from the words of the venerable Bede in certain verses already noticed above.[19] While, therefore, the king was, as already stated, arrayed in the insignia of royalty and seated on the aforesaid chair, there appeared before him a certain man of some consequence from the upper parts of the kingdom, who greeted him and repeated to him his whole pedigree, all the kings one by one and by name since they started from the parts of Egypt and Greece—each one by his name, according to the list set out elsewhere. Hence we see that that most ancient nation, the Scots, sprang chiefly from the two most renowned countries in the world, and abode without a break with its own natural kings, maintaining unswerving fidelity and allegiance, and continuing faithfully in its natural allegiance for nearly two thousand years, without the bondage of subjection to any emperor or king, which has seldom or never been the case in any other country. The aforesaid nation, then, took its rise on the male side from the most renowned province of the Greeks, to wit the Athenians, where the discovery of all natural science first and chiefly had and took its beginning, and Phoroneus king of the Greeks first imparted human laws to the Romans. In Egypt, on the other hand, pre-eminently before all the other kingdoms of the world, the science of astronomy first and chiefly flourished. The Lord God, also, and Almighty Father sent His beloved Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, with his mother Mary for safety into Egypt, because of the fury of the tyrant Herod; which He would not have done had he not delighted in the country. Hence all the famous doctors, wise chroniclers and authors

hold that Greece is, as it were, the mistress of the other kingdoms, the discoverer of sciences, the fountain-head and nurse of morals and virtue, the flower and guide of chivalry and arms, whose people are the most quick-witted, the most valiant in the art of warfare, endowed with the gifts of wisdom, most learned and most eloquent in speech, far-famed for their laws, law-abiding, merciful and kind to strangers, peaceful towards fellow-countrymen, quiet at home, gracious to well-disposed neighbours, most warlike against the snares of their enemies : as we see first in the destruction of the city of Troy ; secondly, in the conqueror Alexander the Great ; thirdly, in Constantine the Great, who spread the Christian religion ; fourthly, in Aristotle, the chief of philosophers and the flower of clerks ; fifthly, in that most stalwart Hercules, who planted the brazen pillars in the sea of Gades, in the western borders of the world, and in his wonderful strength, which, although mentioned last, should however, by reason of antiquity if not of importance, have been mentioned first.

CHAPTER XV.

Removal of the ashes of the body of the most blessed Queen Margaret.

In the year following the coronation, namely in 1250, the king and the queen his mother, together with the bishops and abbots and other lords of the realm, met at Dunfermline, and there took up the bones and remains of the glorious Queen Margaret, his great-great-great-great-grandmother, from the stone monument wherein they had rested for years and years, and lifted them up with the utmost devoutness and honour in a silver[20] shrine set with gold and precious stones ; and from her earlier tomb was given out a most sweet smell, so that one would have thought the whole place was strewed with flowers and spicy balms. Nor was there lacking a miracle of divine grace : for, after that far-famed coffer had first been placed in the outer church, and finally easily lifted by the sacred hands of bishops and abbots, that it might be placed on the top of the high altar in the choir, as had been pre-arranged in order to do it honour, when it was brought in procession, with organs chanting and voices singing in chorus, up to the wicket in the chancel, near the tomb of her husband King Malcolm, who lay at the north side of the further nave of the church under an

arched canopy, on the opposite side, lo! suddenly the arms of the bearers became as it were exhausted and powerless, so that, from the weight of the massy burden, they were unable to move the bier with the holy relics away from the spot any further; nay, they were obliged, whether they would or not, to come to a stop at that spot forthwith, and rest the heavy bier on the ground there. After this, however, they brought bearers stronger than the former, thinking there was a lack of bodily strength in the bearers; but the more they strove to lift the bier, the less they could stir it. But at length, while the prelates and lords wondered much what this strange thing might mean, and thought they were unworthy to touch or meddle with the most holy burial of so glorious a body, lo! straightway the inspired voice of the Lord, as is believed, thundered forth from one of the bystanders, announcing plainly that God neither wished nor would allow the remains of the blessed queen to be moved before the coffin of her husband King Malcolm were opened and his body moved with just such honours, since they were one flesh while they were in the world; and, as his speech pleased all the bystanders, it was done according to his word. So, after his tomb was opened and his bones were taken up, both biers were solemnly and in state brought to the appointed places without any trouble or effort because of their weight, on the 19th of June in the above year; and, because of her worthiness and merits, Almighty God, who is marvellous in His saints and glorious in His majesty, wrought many miracles in the said place.

CHAPTER XVI.

Marriage of King Alexander to the daughter of Henry III. king of England.

In the year 1251 the magnates of the kingdom of Scotland, seeing that their king was in his minority, almost in his cradle, feared that the kingdom would suffer loss for want of good government: for the leading men of nearly the whole kingdom neglected the state and were altogether bent on promoting their own private interests, each one minding his own business and leaving the common weal to itself. Therefore the prelates and lords who cared for the common weal, after exhorting them, came to a decision, upon mature deliberation, and despatched envoys to the king of England both for a renewal of the treaty of peace and also for the cementing of the bond of hearty love and friendship by a marriage to be contracted between the said

King Alexander and the daughter of Henry king of England. These envoys were received most graciously, and were thanked and rewarded with many costly gifts. Envoys were likewise sent back into Scotland to settle the marriage;[21] and they arranged a day for the aforesaid kings to meet one another with their counsellors—at the city of York, on the following Christmas-day. This was finally carried out and fulfilled with the greatest solemnity, state, glory and honour, both as to the marriage and as to prolonging the treaty of peace; and both kings and the prelates and barons of either kingdom swore solemnly, after laying their hands upon the holy Gospels, that it should last for ever and ever. This oath, moreover, both kings, with their chiefs, prelates and lords, kept so faithfully and inviolably to the end of their lives, that hardly ever in after times were any differences, quarrels, or dissensions which could distress the kingdoms known to arise between them or their countrymen; nor had it ever been known, in the days of any king whatever, that true peace and love and unbroken and spotless fidelity between the Scots and their adversaries should for so long a time have been unfalteringly kept by both sides. For the said King Henry was always looked upon as a faithful and fast friend, both in the time of the father of the said King Alexander, after Alexander II. married the sister of the said Henry, and also in the time of his son-in-law,[22] the said Alexander III.; a thing which had seldom if ever been known to happen before this, either in the time of the Britons, the Picts, the Norwegians, or the English, save in the few days of King Richard, who maintained steady fidelity and a friendly alliance with King William, and abode unceasingly in true friendship and a trustful alliance with him unto his life's end. Furthermore, the aforesaid King Henry, to show the greater love and intimate friendship, girded King Alexander, while only nine years old, with the belt of knighthood at the city of York, and thereafter brought about and concluded the marriage between the aforesaid King Alexander and his eldest daughter, named Margaret, on St. Stephen's Day, the day after Christmas, with the utmost ceremony, as already remarked. And after the wedding King Alexander straightway took his queen to Scotland with him.

CHAPTER XVII.

The new king's counsellors suspected.

But, when the king had come to his own kingdom, after his marriage had been concluded, the prelates and barons and

other magnates and lords of the realm who cared for the common weal held a general meeting, and dismissed all the king's counsellors, earls as well as all others who were under suspicion; and, by the choice of the Three Estates, in consideration of the king's tender age, they constituted and elected other prelates and barons, able, prudent and discreet men, to represent them; and these appointed new officers in place of those under suspicion.[23] They were dismissed because[24] these counsellors were so many kings or petty kings, who converted and disposed of the revenues of the kingdom and all the crown dues to their own private use, and thought only of their own selfish interests, leaving the common weal to itself, and ever enriching themselves and trampling others under foot. They did not prevent the poor being ground down; and, with some whom they envied, they would even find some trumped-up reason for confiscation, and appropriate the confiscated lands to themselves by the king's gift; with others, they would seek occasion against them that they might sell some land of theirs they took a fancy to, and would force them to sell it to them; they concealed robbers with whom they were partakers, supported them, and got them pardons from the king for their misdeeds, such as sacrilege and manslaughter; and generally they countenanced and shielded all evil doers, so that it might not without cause be said: Woe to thee, O land whose king is a boy; for nought is holier or more profitable or better in a kingdom than that the king should have good counsellors, whether he be young or old. For, as the poet says:—

A worthy council makes a lasting realm.

Now counsellors of unrighteousness are the king's and the kingdom's foes, whom none ought to encourage by silence, but openly to chide, impeach and prosecute; for we all by nature have obligations towards the state, and especially towards our king. But, according to the prophet, those who fail in their duty shall the Lord number with the workers of iniquity. Nothing indeed better befits the dignity of king than to have good and able counsellors, and to eschew evil advisers: for unrighteous counsellors are the chief foes of the king and the kingdom, as already said; and, on the other hand, good counsellors are the pride of the king and the kingdom, and the safety of the people. Again, according to Solomon, In the multitude of counsellors there is safety: for there are as many different points of view as there are heads. According to Solomon, again, A multitude of wise men is the health of the earth, and a wise king is the stay of the people. Now by this

is the king's wisdom known, that he has wise and prudent counsellors. For this cause were a hundred senators established at Rome for the government of the state; and in like manner at Paris a hundred counsellors were created for the government of the realm of France; for a community, some say, cannot err. All the senators of Paris are clerics learned in the law and doctors of law and canon law, and solemnly sworn to do and administer judgment and true justice; and moreover they are so secure, prompt and resolute in doing right, that, though some of them, say two or three, should wish basely to pervert the law and turn aside from the way of truth, the others, thus clearly perceiving their shuffling and unfairness, would not endure them, but would put them to a perpetual shame and banish them from the society of the others; and, if the king were so ill-advised, or rather led astray by self-interested advice, as in like manner to pervert judgment and justice and countenance such unrighteousness, so as himself to upset the sentence of parliament, all these senators with their followers would publicly proclaim that no more causes would be heard in parliament, and the bells would be rung, the doors of parliament locked, they would take off their robes, and each would go back to his own home, and finally—never to return or give a hearing or deal with any cause whatever, until the king had punished the shufflers, begged their pardon, and made full amends in parliament. For they would pervert or break through the law, or go beyond the letter of the law, neither for king nor for queen, nor for any other lord, friend or kinsman, for neither prayer, nor love, nor money, nor fear, nor hate, nor even for a man's life. We find, moreover, in the Gestes of the French that in the days of Philip and Louis, kings of the French, the Saracens passed by their own judges and left their homes and came to Paris to submit their causes and complaints to the judgment of the senators of the parliament there; and in the end both parties, satisfied with their sentences, returned in joy and harmony to their own country, and praised justice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What manner of men a king's counsellors should be.

Observe that a good and righteous king ought to have twelve characteristics. The first is that he ought not to keep with him in his council counsellors who are miserly, ambitious, or double-

tongued, or inclined to evil. The second, that he choose prudent men, loving God more than carnal or worldly gain. The third, that they consider the poor and be merciful unto them, compassionate towards their neighbours' woes, truthful in judgment and in their other doings, not willing to tell a lie for anything in the world. The fourth, that the king himself love God above all things, and watch over himself unceasingly in leading a good life spiritually, observe God's precepts, maintain the law and not break it, direct and protect and love the good, and guard them in peace, and correct, punish and chastise the wicked. The fifth, that he protect God's church and firmly believe and defend the catholic faith, uphold clerics and priests in their suits, and save them harmless in body and substance, and withstand their enemies. The sixth, that he cherish all maids and widows and wretched folks and babes and orphans, nourish them, and enfold them in the bosom of his protection. The seventh, that he say the Hours of Our Lady daily, and hear three masses in the name of the Trinity, and chant the seven penitential psalms with the Litany and Vigil of the Dead when he has leisure; and if he said the canonical Hours—would that he did so!—it would always go well with him in this world. The eighth, that he do not make or plunge into war unless he needs must, but maintain, seek and, so far as he might do so without dishonour, ensue friendship, peace and love with all his neighbours; for Peace is good to those that love her, and not a stumbling-block unto them, seeing that blessed are the peacemakers, and they shall be called the children of God. The ninth, that he confess himself and consult his confessor daily, or at least once a week, and purify and purge himself from the vices and taints of mortality, and say the Hours to himself, not taking his ease during mass, nor letting his eyes wander, nor looking back, nor busying himself with or attending to affairs before divine service, bearing in mind the saying of the Lord, who says, No one who putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back is fit for the kingdom of heaven. The tenth, that he diligently sound, inquire into and subject to inspection the diligence of those who manage his property, as also the fidelity of all his officers, and acquaint himself with the character of each of them; and that no wicked man come into his sight, and that the unrighteous remain not before his eyes; that the bad heart that backbiteth his neighbour cleave not unto him; that he have no dealings with the proud eye and greedy heart, but that his eyes be ever upon the faithful in the land, that they may sit with him and minister unto him, walking in a spotless way. The eleventh, that he make an able and discreet man his

Grand Almoner, and have all the almshouses of his realm reformed and restored to their true original condition when they were first founded, and direct and see that his charitable donations and doles be distributed in his own presence; and take pity on the poor, as saith the prophet, Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The twelfth, that he introduce not new and evil customs into his realm, to the detriment and prejudice of his people and the state, but love the common weal above all things, and guard it, else he will never be beloved by his subjects, nor by God; for God is the soul of the state, and the more one leans to the public good the nearer one is to God, and the more beloved by Him; for the king is only the state's vicegerent in the name of the Lord his God, and unless he governs it well he is not worthy of the name of king. This is gathered chiefly from three points which are touched upon by Aristotle, the chief of philosophers, in his Ethics: namely that, firstly, he ought to govern his own self virtuously, as regards himself personally; secondly, that he ought to govern his house well, as regards his household; thirdly, that he ought govern his province or country well, or his kingdom, if he be a king, as regards the common weal and the state, and the whole people subject unto him. If he shall do these three things he shall deserve to be called king; and then shall his Lord say unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

CHAPTER XIX.

On what days the king ought to wear the crown, etc.

It was the custom of old, as is stated in the Great Chronicle, that the king should wear the crown on his head at certain solemn festivals, although it is not customary in modern times, and especially in France.[25] It is said here, however, that it is on these festivals, to wit Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Whitsunday, Ascension Day, the Assumption of Our Lady, the raising of the Holy Cross, All Saints; also on all days on which he holds general judicial sittings in parliament, and on days on which he confers knighthood in state.

Furthermore, ten counsels are given to kings by the Lord. The first is that the king ought never to sit alone at table, but accompanied by some distinguished men, wise and well-principled, with whom he shall make merry and solace himself, conversing about acts of wisdom, prudence and justice, that he

may be made wiser and pass the time well: for he who delights in hearing wisdom shall be wise, according to Solomon. The second counsel is that after dinner he should stand up and broach some good subject, and argue with the clerics in his presence, or discuss the relative merits of glorious deeds; and then let him hear the opinions of others, whence he shall understand the government of his realm, so that he may become more prudent and careful. The third counsel is that in all his judicial acts he always temper his judgment with mercy, bearing in mind the saying of the prophet, who says, Of mercy and judgment shall I sing unto thee, O Lord; for the king ought not suddenly in his wrath to sentence any one, lest he afterwards quickly repent, as Solomon says, The fool vents his wrath at once. Fourthly, that he ought not to be turned aside from the path of right reason by any cause whatever; for a wise man may be likened unto the sun, who is always shining, and has his rays direct; while a fool, like the moon, changes daily. Fifthly, that the king beware of the counsel of such as are interested in those whose cause is being considered, for such make justice miscarry and pervert the law; and especially misers, for avarice is thraldom to idols and the root of all evil, and they are always ready to barter justice and poison a just king with the venom of avarice. Sixthly, that the king ought to give heed to the words of able men and to the advice of experienced men as to what handicrafts he has need of in his kingdom, and send able youths over to foreign parts to be taught, at the expense of the parents and the boroughs which have need of such. Seventhly, that the king should make men of influence in the realm, both churchmen and laymen, furnish fleets of fishing-boats, as they do in England and in other eastern and northern countries, which bring in much profit to the country. The eighth, that the king make a point of letting the lands of the inhabitants in feu-farm for ever; for it is easy for an intelligent man to see that by such leases the country and the inhabitants could be indefinitely enriched; and, when the country and inhabitants are enriched, in like manner also will the king be enriched. For, if the country and inhabitants are poor, the king will be poor; as it is impossible for the king of a poor country to be rich; or, on the other hand, of a rich country to be poor. It is strange that the whole world is leased thus save only the kingdom of Scotland; but, according to Aristotle, the chief of philosophers, Base is the part that does not harmonise with its whole. But, if they knew the unparalleled advantage ensuing therefrom, they would not leave off until they had accomplished it. Ninthly, that the king, by a decree

of his parliament, have his laws examined and weighed and compared with the acts of parliament by wise men learned in the law; and, if there be any things which contradict each other, or are useless, unreasonable, or fruitless, that they be amended by certain men deputed thereto before the general council, and that bad customs, if there be any, be swept away. Tenthly, that the king, when he wakes in the middle of the night after his first lying down, should first render thanks to Almighty God and invoke the grace of the Holy Spirit, and then recall to mind all his pressing business, and ponder what, how, by whom, in what way and when, he ought to bring to due accomplishment what he has to do.

CHAPTER XX.

Good characteristics and points in a king.

The best point in a prince is that he do wisely whatever he may do, and that he look to the end. Another point is that he think well over all he does; and thus he will not repent after the deed is done: for, according to Solomon, wisdom dwelleth in counsel, and mingles with witty inventions. Another point is that in administering justice he swerve not either to the right hand or to the left, nor take the person into account in giving judgment; for God is no respecter of persons. Another good point is that, if the king has made a mistake, when he finds out his mistake he be not ashamed to retract it: for the universal pope oftentimes makes mistakes, yet he says he is not ashamed to retract his mistake. Another point is that he do nothing rashly in hot blood, but put off vengeance until anger is past: for anger prevents the spirit being able to discern the true, and man's anger works not God's justice. Another point is that he do not lightly believe stories, flattery, or adulation, against his better judgment, until he hear the other side; and that he take into consideration the cause of the story, and the persons, and the circumstances, until he understands the foundation and the origin whence it proceeds. Another very good point is that the king recognise thoroughly his friends and foes, and take good heed to whom he unfolds the secrets of his heart; for many feign friendship and have the poison of asps under their tongue; and at first they come in fawningly, but in the end bite like a snake;—and especially, according to Solomon, Let him guard the fastening of his mouth against her who sleepeth

in his bosom. Another point is that a king ought not to be light in gesture, or overbearing, or too talkative, save at the right time, modestly, eloquently and with tact; and let his words be wisely placed, for when they have been uttered he cannot unsay them. Another point is that he be not theatrically or unbecomingly clad, or defiled with disreputable play; yea let him be staid and sober in gesture, motion, look and appearance, and in dress looking such as he is. Another, that he be not too familiar or humble, for such things beget contempt and are put down to foolishness; for, where humility is too much kept to, authority in governing is broken down. Therefore let him so keep between the two extremes of arrogance and humility, that he be feared and beloved; but let him wish rather to be loved than to be feared, that is, that he be beloved by the good and feared by the bad. Moreover, another point is that he study to bring back to brotherly peace those who have fallen out. Also that he study to reform his currency for the good of the state. Also to receive strangers with honour, and shield and keep them from all wrong and hindrance, and with pleasure grant them the necessary papers. Let him beware of having dealings with the excommunicated, of listening to play-actors and jugglers; let him punish scoffers, check those who at play deny God and blaspheme the saints, love and cherish the virtuous, keep out the vicious, and in all things uphold righteousness and goodness.

CHAPTER XXI.

The counsellors of King Alexander, a youth of nine, are changed by the advice of the king of England.

THE same year King Henry of England, like a trusty father to King Alexander of Scotland, being asked to confer with the prelates and lords of Scotland upon the government of the realm, came as far as Wark Castle; and, after mature deliberation there, all the counsellors and great officers of state were dismissed from their offices and places. A certain chronicle, however, relates that the manner of their dismissal was as follows. At that time, while King Alexander was in his minority, Earl Patrick of Dunbar and Allan Durwart and their party, being fired with zeal for the state against Walter Comyn and the other magnates of the realm who had the government of the king and kingdom at this period, because they governed the state improperly, and wishing to oust them from the

government and council of the kingdom and king, with the concurrence of the king of England, as some say, came privately to the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh), accompanied by some counsellors of the king of England, entered the castle unawares, drove out all king Alexander's suspected counsellors and attendants, and intrusted the said castle and the king and queen to the keeping of knights and serjeants of their own; and a few days afterwards they brought the king and queen of Scotland and their own private attendants, with a fine army, to the king and queen of England, who had for this purpose come to Wark. There the said kings and the lords and counsellors of their two kingdoms held a lengthened interview, and they enacted many statutes there which were far from palatable to the people. Nevertheless they appointed the bishop of Dunkeld chancellor, David de Lindsay de Crawfurd chamberlain and Alan de Durwart grand justiciary under the king of Scotland for seven years to come, and set them and some other able men to govern the king and kingdom. When these came back, however, the other former counsellors of the king of Scotland and governors of the realm had a serious difference with them about rendering an account of the king's goods for the period of their government, and a great dispute arose because the former governors would not give an account of the king's receipts and expenditure.

CHAPTER XXII.

King Alexander is seized by his own liegemen.

In the year 1257, when the king's new counsellors and governors had had Walter de Comyn earl of Menteith and his accomplices summoned before the king for certain offences, and repeatedly proclaimed and marked contumacious—for they wanted to bring various crimes and complaints against them, and the latter were afraid of a judgment and would not appear—the said earl of Menteith, Walter de Cumyn, and his underlings seized King Alexander in bed at the dead of night, about midnight, at Kinross, the day after the Feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, and brought him to Stirling Castle, together with the king's Great Seal and others whom they wanted to bring with them. His accomplices were Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan, William earl of Mar, John Comyn, brother[26] to the earl of Buchan, Hugh de Abirnethy, David de Louchour, Hugh de Berclay, with their attendant retainers;

and they upset all the good government of the past counsellors and governors, plundered the churches, wasted the inhabitants, oppressed the poor and in a word perpetrated every misdeed, ravaged the whole kingdom and plundered the inhabitants in such a way as had never been known in the kingdom of Scotland for a long time. Not long after, however, the aforesaid Walter de Comyn earl of Menteith took a dose of poison administered to him by his wife, and died at once—and he deserved it, for he was the ringleader of those who brought the king captive to Stirling, and that the word of God spoken by the prophet might be fulfilled, who says, The ungodly shall perish from the earth, and the workers of iniquity shall be taken from it. As for these Comyns, two or three earls of that name used to be the greatest and chiefest in the realm; but now, lo! I have sought, and the place of them is not to be found, though there were at this period thirty-two knights of that name of Comyn alive at one and the same time. But this curse fell upon them through the vengeance of God, for they laid hands upon the lord king, in spite of the oath of allegiance and fealty. The countess his wife, however, to whom belonged the aforesaid earldom through her father, was dispossessed and sent into perpetual banishment in England with a certain man of low birth; and the aforesaid earldom was made over to one Walter de Bullok, who claimed through his wife. In the year 1260 Pope Urban instituted the solemn feast of Corpus Christi; and by the grace of God's bounty such a measure of indulgence was granted to celebrating, hearing, or taking part in that solemnity both on the first day and on the days of the following octaves, that it stretches well-nigh to fourteen thousand years. The following year a valuable cross was found at Peebles buried underground, which had been buried about a thousand years before; and, with the consent of the bishop of Glasgow, the king built there the famous church of Peebles in its honour.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Battle of Largs, and victory through Saint Margaret.

In the year 1263, about the feast of the blessed Peter ad Vincula (Lammas Day), the king of Norway, Haco by name, arrived at Ayr Castle with a large fleet of men-at-arms, and with the view of invading the kingdom strove to subdue to his sway all the island districts: for he maintained that all the islands lying between Scotland and Ireland belonged to him by

right of inheritance. So he straightway took by force and occupied the royal castles of Bute and Arran, and invaded, plundered and sacked the neighbouring lands of Scotland along the seaboard; nor would this man, out of honour and reverence to Almighty God, respect the sacredness of the churches, but he cruelly harried and wasted everything with fire and sword. But when he had come further in, into the district of Cunyngham, on the feast of the nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, and had gained the land and pitched his tents at a place which is called Largs and brought his fleet to the sea-coast there, behold! a most mighty battle-array of Scottish men-at-arms approaching, led on behalf of the king of Scotland by that noble knight the Lord Alexander Stewart of Dundonald, great-grandson of the first Walter Stewart. This Alexander was the grandfather of the noble Walter Stewart of far-famed memory, who married the daughter of Robert de Bruss. So this Alexander, being joined by other nobles of that country-side, came with such as he could get at a moment's notice, set upon them manfully, overthrew their army and humbled their pride; and through God's vengeance he fought and overcame them and punished their wicked attempt. A great number of them were slain, the chief men of the rest were captured, and the remainder he forced to flee to the sea-shore, towards their fleet. Among these was killed a man of great valour, a noble knight, the nephew of the said king of Norway, who mourned greatly thereat and was wroth beyond measure. But when they who were on board ship saw this, they were sore troubled; and when they would have come on shore, lo! suddenly a strong wind burst forth from the west, split the sails, and owing to the fearful swell of the sea, the aforesaid ships dragged their anchors and were tossed by the dreadful storm, so that some parted company, some again were dashed and tossed together, went to pieces and foundered; while others were cast ashore and dashed to pieces on the rocks and strewn in small fragments along the sea-coast, together with their booty; and the men were drowned. Those, however, who escaped with their lives safe and sound engaged our men in a fresh battle; and straightway all but the king, who with a few men fled to the ships in the greatest haste, were overcome and borne down through the grace and miracle of the blessed Queen Margaret of Dunfermline, and were either left slain on the field, or brought to the king of Scotland as captives with the Scottish chiefs; and there was hardly any one left to tell the tale. But when the king, who had barely escaped and was on board ship sorrowing and mourning, beheld his disaster, he

at once set sail for the Orkneys and, the foggy weather coming on, remained there awhile to rest, awaiting his revenge. He was indeed flaming with fury; and, in order to avenge his nephew's death and other wrongs and grievances, he wrote off to his kingdom and prepared to lead back again a very large army against the king of Scotland the following summer. While awaiting there the coming of a fresh fleet, however, he was seized with a short illness and departed this life; and he was succeeded by his son named Magnus, a man of letters, peaceful and distinguished for kindness, and of great wisdom in the eyes of all. In the ancient Gestes of Scottish history it is written how the kings of the Scots and Picts gained a wonderful victory over the Norwegians at a place which is called Longcarty, between the rivers Tay and Almond. At this period the king of Norway so harried and wasted the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots, that nearly the whole country had been occupied and subdued by them. So it happened that they came one day near the town of Perth, which was then called Bertha, and encamped at Longcardy. The kings of the Scots and Picts, however, had recourse to a stratagem. They mixed two casks of wine with the juice of the black hellebore, which is commonly called *micklewort;* and, when they came to the town, they promised it them on the morrow, and sent them the casks, as of the king's bounty, in token of their future obedience. Therefore the Norwegian king and his whole soldiery rejoiced above measure. Afterwards, however, those who brought and presented the aforesaid wine took the first draught of the wine before the Norwegian king, as the custom is, to taste it, and it did them no deadly harm; but, when the others afterwards tasted the wine, sweetened with the sweetness of the said hellebore, they drank deeply, but did not serve it out to any but the king and the chiefs of the soldiery. Nevertheless friend gave friend a draught of the same, secretly or openly, so that there were few of any mark who had not drunk their fill; and before nightfall they were all drunk with this liquor and slumbered and slept. But before sunrise the Scots and Picts fell upon them, and the Lord delivered them all to the edge of the sword, and hardly one escaped. For both the king and the nobles, as well as all their men, perished utterly; and beholders may plainly see the marks thereof at the said spot to this day, in some mounds for the burial of the dead. Nor was this permitted by God without reason: for it is said that from old time the aforesaid Northmen had so invaded, destroyed and laid waste the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots, that nearly the whole country had been occupied by them; and meanwhile there

occurred many disasters and countless most cruel massacres of the people, which it would be wearisome to recount and put down in writing.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

Miracle by the blessed Margaret.

In the year 1263, as aforesaid, the king of Norway landed at Conyngham with a very great host of warriors; and the Scots assembled their forces against him and, under the command of the aforesaid Alexander Stewart, made ready to battle to oppose their designs. But it came to pass at that time that a certain knight named John de Wemyss dreamt that he went into the church of the blessed Queen Margaret of Scotland at Dunfermline, and saw a queen coming clad in gorgeous apparel of gold, wearing a crown on her head; and with her a most comely king, likewise robed in kingly raiment, arrayed in bright armour, wearing a most costly crown on his helmet; and three other kings, equally clad in royal robes and most gorgeously armed, accompanied the foregoing queen and king. The lady herself was leading the first king by the right hand, keeping step with him, while the others followed step by step one after the other. So when the said knight beheld them, he marvelled and, kneeling down with becoming reverence, said, "O glorious lady, I beseech thee, deign to show me who thou art, and these who accompany thee, and whither thou art bound." She said to him with a cheerful countenance, "I," said she, "am Margaret queen of Scotland; he whom I lead by the hand is my illustrious husband King Malcolm; the others who follow are my sons, whilom kings of this realm; and we are hastening with them to a place called Largs, to defend our country against the snares of the enemy; and, God granting us grace, we shall gain the victory over that tyrant king who is striving wrongfully to invade our realm and subdue it unto him: for, as thou knowest, I have had this realm intrusted to me and my heirs for ever by God." Then said the knight unto her, "O my glorious lady, give me a token whereby I may know this and that others may believe me." "Go," said she, "to the church of my burial, and thou shalt straightway recover from thy sickness." So the knight, who had long been laid up and suffering from some incurable feverish sickness, at once awoke out of his sleep, made the necessary preparations, and failed not to accomplish on foot a pilgrimage to Dunfermline,

though he could hardly stir in bed the day before. But when he came to Dunfermline and gave the prior and the other religious a set account of the vision, he was brought to the blessed Margaret's bier, touched the relics and prayed; and straightway from that hour he was cured of all his sickness, and the fever left him. Now this was done that it might not be thought that the aforesaid vision was brought about by a trick of evil spirits; but it was in very truth manifested from heaven, as the result of the affair most clearly showed; for shortly afterwards the king's envoys came thither and brought word of the splendid victory of the said battle of Largs. So they rejoiced thereat with great gladness, and gave praises unto God and the blessed queen.

Here follows concerning the wonderful victory against the Norwegians, both those who were on board the fleet of the king of Norway at the mouth of the Tay, near the place which is called Drumlay, and also those who escaped from the battle of Longcarty.

Concerning this it should be stated that when fearful slaughter had been made at the battle of Longcarty, as already said, in which victory gluttonous greed and the love of drinking wine were the cause of these aforesaid Northmen being put to the edge of the sword, for the Scots and Picts slew without mercy the king of Norway and many nobles and a countless host of people,—after this, having gained the victory in the field, they pursued the runaways by night up to the ships at the mouth of the river Tay, and set fire to the fleet with lighted torches, lanterns and wax tapers and other firebrands made up of flax, hemp, pitch and tar; and they came ashore again in skiffs, boats and small vessels and divided the spoil. In a word, their ships were bodily sunk to the bottom of the sea, and, out of the whole host of the Norwegians, no one was known to have escaped death save one only, a one-eyed man whom they had sent off to bring back news of the others. Because of this victory and fearful and merciless slaughter, no noble was thereafter girded with the belt of knighthood without first swearing the great oath to avenge the cruel battle of Longcarty when the time came and he was charged to do so by their king. And although their wrath is somewhat softened by time, yet it will never in this world be wholly uprooted and blotted out from their remembrance. By this sea-fight and the sinking of the ships the mouth of the river Tay from that day became almost impassable for ships, because of the number of ships which are sunk there, whence mounds of sand are thrown up in the harbour by the tossing of the waves, so that

ships are often thereby in danger of sinking at the said spot; and this indeed gave rise, in that harbour or thereabouts, to that awful whirlpool which is called Drumlay, where ships are often in danger.

CHAPTER XXV.

The petty king of Man does homage to the king of Scotland.

In the year 1264 there was born unto King Alexander III. a son named Alexander after his father; and the whole world rejoiced thereat exceedingly with great gladness: for on the same day on which he was baptised news came to the kingdom that the king of Norway, who had been overcome and routed at Largs the year before, had died at the Orkney Isles; so there was an end of the war which he was thinking of making against the Scots the following year. Upon hearing this news, King Alexander made preparations against the Isle of Man, and brought the said island under his yoke, receiving the homage of its petty king at Dumfries, while on his way towards the island: the said petty king met him there, and did perpetual homage to him, which was to endure for all time, to hold his petty kingdom of him and his successors. The said king, on the other hand, promised the aforesaid petty king help and succour in his need, if any one should want to subdue him, and also that he and his should find safe refuge, counsel, help and favour in Scotland as often as they might wish, and especially against the king of the Northmen and the king of England; and, for his aforenamed service, the king of Man on his part was to furnish the king of Scotland with ten galleys as often as might be needed and he might be requested by the king of Scotland. It should be stated that five galleys were to be of eighteen[27] oars, and the other five of twelve oars. These he brought with him then, as a beginning, and he went with his galleys and with the earls mentioned below[28] to the islands to punish the aforesaid[29] traitors. When these things were thus accomplished, Alexander earl of Mar and William Cumyn earl of Buchan at King Alexander's command levied an army in the west country against certain traitors of his own kingdom of Scotland, through whose encouragement it was that the king of Norway came to Scotland; and they took with them Alan Durwart, Grand Justiciary of Scotland. Some of these traitors they slew, some they hanged, some they beheaded, and some they thrust bound into perpetual imprisonment; some again they forced to fly to the Western Isles, and they pillaged the Western Isles and brought their plunder with them to the

kingdom of Scotland. The same year Henry king of England and the queen and their son Edward crossed the sea to contract a marriage with the daughter of the king of the Spaniards; and the earl of Winchester, who was Constable of the kingdom of Scotland, died. In this year, on Christmas day, Alexander invested David, earl of Athol, and Colban, son of Malcolm earl of Fife, together with many other lords' sons, with the insignia of knighthood at Scone. The following year friars of the order of Carmelites first came. In that year a great quarrel broke out between the king of England, father of the queen of Scotland, and his barons, on account of unjust and unusual taxes and customs newly provided and ordered in his parliament held at Oxford.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Treaty between the kings of Scotland and Norway about the islands of Scotland—Battle fought by the king of England against Simon de Montfort.

In the year 1265 the king of the Northmen, Magnus by name, son of the King Acho who died at the Orkney Isles, sent his chancellor, Gilbert bishop of Hamer, to Alexander king of Scots at Perth, and offered him the islands of Bute and Arran in peaceful possession for ever; adding this condition, that he, the king of Norway, might in like manner be in peaceful possession of all the other islands which his father Acho had claimed and demanded. The king of Scotland flatly refused this offer; so the bishop, seeing that he had laboured in vain, returned to his king and, after making his report, earnestly advised him to treat with the Scots for peace at any price and come to a final reconciliation. King Magnus, on his side, who was considered a man of good disposition, peaceful and just, after mature deliberation sent back his aforesaid chancellor, with certain other magnates of the kingdom of Norway, to the aforesaid King Alexander, with full powers to treat for a perpetual peace. After they had been heard and honourably received, it was settled, as a final agreement, that all the islands lying between Scotland and Ireland should remain in the possession of the king of Scotland for ever: namely all and several the islands which Acho, father of this King Magnus, had formerly claimed or asserted to belong to him; and he renounced and made over to the aforesaid King Alexander and his successors, kings of Scotland, for ever all right and claim which King Magnus himself, or his father

Acho, ever put forward to the said islands, or which any of his ancestors whatever might claim at any time whatever, whether past or to come; and he left it in perpetual demesne, and quit-claimed it for himself and his successors: provided that the king of Scotland should pay the aforesaid king of Norway four thousand merks of silver within two years, and likewise a hundred merks a year afterwards to him and his heirs. Nevertheless this treaty displeased many of the magnates and lords and others of the kingdom of Scotland, seeing that, long before the Scots came to Britain, they had, under one Eugenius de Rothay, then their leader, come to the aforesaid islands, and had inhabited and held them peacefully for ages until the time of the breach between the sons of Malcolm Canmore and their uncle Donald Bane: at which time the kingdom was wholly broken up and laid waste by their strife; and the king of Norway, Magnus by name, son of Olave king thereof, perceiving this breach in the kingdom of Scotland, attacked the islands of Scotland in force, laid waste everything, and subdued them to his dominion, until the time when the Scots peacefully recovered the aforesaid islands, and held them without opposition. The following year there was a great struggle between Henry king of England and his son Edward, on one side, and Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, on the other, backed up by the barons of the kingdom of England; and by reason of this breach the said earl, with the consent of the barons, drove out of the borders of England, with shame and confusion, Eleanor queen of England and all the French who were in the kingdom of England. But the king of England and his son Edward assembled their forces and gave battle to these their adversaries at a place which is called Lewes;[30] and in this battle the said Henry and his son were vanquished, overcome and taken prisoners by the aforesaid lords of the realm, and great slaughter was made on either side. Of the nobles of Alexander king of Scotland, whom he had sent over to reinforce the king of England, sir John Cumyn was captured, and many other nobles; many nobles of Scotland were slain, and others were brought to London and consigned to prison.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Escape of Prince Edward, who was kept in close custody—Battle fought.

In the year 1266[31] a comet appeared in England and lasted fifteen days. They say it portends the death of a prince. The

same year Prince Edward of England, who was being kept in close custody, escaped from prison through the cleverness of the earl of Gloucester, who held out bribes and promises to his warders. He then mustered an army and prepared to give battle to his adversaries; and he overthrew in battle and slew the said earl and his eldest son, and many of the nobles of England who sided with them, and he bestowed their inheritance upon his own friends and partisans. This battle was fought at Lewisham [32] on the Eve of the Blessed King Oswald. The king of Scotland, however, of his own accord sent an army over to England to reinforce the brother of the queen of Scotland, his wife; but, hearing of the fall of Simon earl of Leicester, Prince Edward sent them home again with many thanks. The same year a certain legate from the Court of Rome was sent into England to negotiate and restore peace between the king and his adversaries; but the said legate, Ottobonus by name, seeing that he had utterly failed in his mission on this point, sent envoys to Scotland commanding the clergy and prelates to impose and levy upon the several churches of Scotland a certain sum of money, and send it to him to meet his expenses, else, if they would not do so, they were to know that they would incur the penalty of excommunication and interdict. The clergy, however, after mature consideration, as the law moreover expressly forbade this, refused to comply with his mandates in this matter, and appealed earnestly to the apostolic see; but notwithstanding this appeal the clergy of Scotland, with the king's consent, gave his lordship the legate sixpence in the merk for his expenses; and the excuses of the clergy were accepted at the Curia, and the kingdom was absolved from the legate's impeachment. Observe that in these days the bishop of Saint Andrews, Gamelin by name, on account of some offence committed against the rights and privileges of the church, excommunicated some knights of King Alexander's, and especially sir John de Dunmore; and the king was very angry thereat. But because the said bishop Gamelin was a just and upright man, of a good life and praiseworthy conscience, and had a righteous quarrel, he bravely and manfully stood out against the gainsayers of the church, and publicly pronounced all the king's counsellors, except himself in person and his children and queen, excommunicated until they should humbly come forward with full amends, and earn the benefit of absolution at his hands. King Alexander afterwards loved him exceedingly and made him his most intimate counsellor. Thus ought every wise man first to fortify himself against his adversaries: first, he should have a just quarrel; secondly, he

should have a sound conscience; thirdly, he should have a bold and brave spirit of resistance; fourthly, he should be well provided with what he needs requires; fifthly, he should use good and due diligence; sixthly, he should not cease praying and asking the protection of Him from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift from above; and, if these things are brought into play, it is impossible for such an one to be vanquished. Moreover, in the same year as above, Louis king of France and his firstborn and likewise two sons of the king of England and great numbers of nobles went on a crusade to the Holy Land; and the Pope wrote to the king of Scotland to pay the king of the English for their expenses every tenth penny of the revenues of the churches in his kingdom. But the king and the clergy, in view of the position of the realm, utterly refused to do so, seeing that he likewise sent over with the aforesaid expedition against the infidels an adequate force of his own lords, according to the resources of the kingdom—namely, David earl of Athol, Adam earl of Carrick.[33] The same year died the petty king of Man, and Malise earl of Strathern married his widow, the daughter of the lord of Argyll. David earl of Athol died at Carthage. The following year the church of Elgin in Murray was burnt down.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Certain facts connected with the welfare and the history of the realm.

The following year, upon Adam earl of Carrick dying in the Holy Land, leaving his only daughter Martha as his heiress, this daughter, the countess of Carrick, was, of her own accord, without consulting the king's majesty, married to a noble man, Robert de Bruss, second[34] of that name, the future lord of Annandale in Scotland and Cleveland in England. So King Alexander, being angry at this, recognosced into his own hands all her lands, castles and domains. By means, however, of the prayers of friends and by money, a reconciliation was effected and the king's favour won. Of this Martha countess of Carrick the said Robert de Bruss begat another Robert de Bruss, the third of that name, a noble, most stout and successful defender, protector, champion, propugner and most undaunted prince, most peerless and illustrious king of Scotland, buried at Dunfermline, in the middle of the choir,

Whose praises by his deeds shown forth resound,

so that the remembrance of him shall not be blotted out for ever, but be renewed from generation to generation. His father was this Robert de Bruss, earl of Carrick on the wife's side. The father again of this Robert de Bruss was that[35] Robert de Bruss the second, and this second Robert was the son of the first Robert de Bruss, who married Isabel daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, who founded the monastery of Lindores. This daughter was the second daughter of the aforesaid earl. This third[36] Robert, the future king, was born in the sign of the Bull, on the most glorious Feast of the Translation of Saint Benedict; and in a happy hour for the Scots was he born, God's clemency so ordering it, for he delivered us from imminent peril of subjection and perpetual bondage. In the year 1272 a great drought on land and unfruitfulness in the sea fell upon Scotland, England and France, and a murrain of man and beast, and stormy weather, so that by reason of much wind houses fell in ruins and smothered in their beds many who were asleep; and in the height of this storm the lightning set divers places on fire, and especially the church of Arbroath and many others. This drought was followed by a sore famine and dearth.

They say also that the said countess took this Robert de Bruss, a young knight, by force when he went out hunting, and brought him with her to her castle of Turryberry (Turnberry); and, being enamoured of him, she kept him there fifteen days, and, before his departure, married him, without consulting the friends of either party.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Council of Lyons—Birth of Sir Robert de Bruss king of Scotland.

In the year 1274 was born the third[36] Robert de Bruss of illustrious memory, a most valiant king, future king of Scotland. The same year was held a general council at Lyons in France, where almost all the prelates of Christendom were gathered together, and where were nearly all the prelates of Scotland, before Pope Gregory x. There were there two patriarchs and fifty bishops, and many other prelates. The same year King Edward of England sent envoys to King Alexander of Scotland to ask that he himself and the queen his sister should, at an appointed time and place, be in London to do him honour at his coronation; and King Alexander, after making the accustomed protests, together with the queen took

part in the aforesaid coronation. In the same year also died the said queen of Scotland, sister of the king of England and daughter of King Henry the Peaceful. In the year[37] 1275 came Master Bagimund, being sent by our lord the Pope to tax all the churches and raise a subsidy for the relief of the Holy Land, to wit one-tenth of the whole. For this subsidy the Cistertian Order granted our lord the Pope forty[38] thousand merks on behalf of the whole order. Bagimund, however, seeing the poverty of the kingdom, went back to the Roman Curia and earnestly entreated our lord the Pope not to go beyond the ancient taxation of the churches. The following year, namely in 1276, King Alexander did homage to the king of England at Saint Thomas's for the lands of Penrith and other lands which he had given him as a marriage portion with his sister the queen of Scotland, saving the whole rights, privileges and liberties, as also saving the royal dignities of the crown of Scotland; and also for the other lands granted to him in England from old time, except the earldom of Huntingdon which he actually, though not rightfully, kept for himself. In this year also a reconciliation was brought about between King Edward and Llewellyn king of Wales, who did homage and swore fealty to him. At the same time the king of Scotland sent envoys to the king of England for the earldom of Huntingdon; but they were unsuccessful, for he would not surrender it.[39] In this year likewise a great dispute arose between King Alexander of Scotland and King Edward of England, about the boundary of the Scottish marches, as will be seen later.

CHAPTER XXX.

Breach between the kings of England and Scotland—Alexander IV., son of the king of Scotland.

In the year 1278 the prelates and nobles of either kingdom met at Berwick to settle the dispute between the kings. The king of England, however, was at Tweedmouth with his retinue.[40] But news came from Wales, and they departed without settling the matter. In this year King Alexander's son, named David, died at Stirling and was buried at Dunfermline. The following year Griffin, brother of Llewellyn king of Wales, engaged in a murderous war against King Edward of England. In the following year, A.D. 1279, Alexander, son of Alexander III., and son also of Margaret sister of Edward Longshanks king of England, married the daughter of the count

of Flanders at Roxburgh, where the solemn feast lasted fifteen days. But he did not live long; for he died at Lindores in the year 1283, in the twentieth year of his age, and was buried with his brother at Dunfermline. In the year 1281 Margaret, daughter of King Alexander III., was betrothed to King Hanigow of Norway—which is *Henry* in our tongue; and she was shortly afterwards married and crowned queen in great honour and glory. Of two ships which escorted the said queen and sailed over with her to Norwegian parts, one, with the abbot of Balmerino and other churchmen on board, sank on the way back, while the other, with the earl of Menteith and other nobles, escaped. Of the said queen Margaret the king of Norway begat one daughter, also named Margaret; and the queen her mother did not live long after this, but departed this life a year and a half afterwards. She herself likewise paid the debt of nature before she had fully reached the years of puberty.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Cruelty of Edward king of England towards the Welsh—Wailing and mourning of the inhabitants of Scotland for the death of the king's firstborn, and of the queen of Norway and her daughter, who were the heirs-apparent of the kingdom of Scotland.

Upon the death therefore of Alexander III.'s son, Alexander IV., as also of the said Alexander IV.'s sister, the queen of Norway, and of her daughter Margaret who died at the age of puberty, this was a source of grief throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland: and not for these only, but also for King Alexander's second son, David by name, who died at Lindores, as already stated, and was buried at Dunfermline. After the death of Alexander, the king's firstborn, envoys were at once despatched by the count of Flanders to send him home his daughter, the widow of the said late Alexander the king's firstborn. After taking counsel on the matter, they at length agreed that she should return to her father without tendering fealty to the king of Scotland for her dower; and this was accordingly done, and the envoys were lavishly rewarded and returned home with the lady. In like manner the king of Norway, after the death of his wife the queen, but while his daughter Margaret was not yet dead, sent a solemn embassy to get the king to pay forthwith for the use of his niece, the daughter of the

said king of Norway, the sum of seven hundred merks of silver due to her according to their bargain and agreement, as is more fully contained in their bonds bearing the seals of the said king of Scotland. These ambassadors were graciously, though sorrowfully, received, and kindly entreated; and, by the advice of the prelates and lords, they were speeded and satisfied, and they returned to their own country, rewarded with gifts beyond measure.

CHAPTER XXXII.

This tyrant Edward hinders the expedition or passage to the Holy Land, by reason of his ravenous greed—Death of the most noble King Alexander III.

THE following year, namely A.D. 1286, King Alexander of Scotland sent a solemn embassy over to France, and had Yolanda, the exceedingly beautiful daughter of the count de Driuz (Dreux), brought over to Scotland in the greatest pomp, and married her with such honours, lustre and splendour as had seldom been seen in Scotland in times past. But alas! as Solomon hath it, The laughter of this world shall ever be mingled with grief, and mourning lurks at the bottom of the joy thereof. For that same year the king, wishing to cross over to Queensferry in Lothian, was prevented by an exceeding great storm until twilight on the night of the 19th of March; so he changed his mind and straightway flew on horseback to Kinghorn, where for the time he occupied a manor. On the sea-shore to the westward, however, on the sandy road, the king's horse by chance suddenly sank his forelegs in the sand in the darkness of night, and stumbled; and, when pricked by the spur and striving to get up again, he fell more heavily and crushed the king under him. So, for want of proper watch and ward on the part of his companions, this most noble king died of a broken neck, and lies entombed at Dunfermline, in front of the high altar. His sudden death and loss were so painful, so mournful, so disastrous to the noble realm of Scotland, that the inhabitants lost all hope of a ruler, and nearly went out of their mind and senses. But let no good catholic despair of the salvation of the king's soul because of the suddenness of his death; but let him cherish the hope of eternal salvation, bearing in mind the following saying of the holy doctors: for it is the opinion of the wise and has often been

shown and revealed to many most holy men that, after a sudden and unforeseen death, as it outwardly seemed to men, eternal salvation of the soul was attained. He who lives well cannot die ill, and the converse is generally true, as is shown in the following lines :—

A sudden death need not the just distress ;
His dying thus makes not his merits less.

This king reigned thirty-seven years, and was most noble, righteous, godly, wise and kind, mild and merciful, and did good service to the realm.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Good character and government of this king.

In all the early days of the life of the said king the catholic church of Christ flourished at its highest in the kingdom of Scotland, justice reigned, vice was withered up, virtue increased, and the state grew so much that prosperity and peace and abundance of wealth and the pouring in of money and fruitful plenty prevailed in Scotland during all his time. The king, moreover, was adorned by every virtue, beloved by all good men, hated by the wicked. A *ruler* is so called from *ruling* well; for where there is no rule, there is no ruler. That king indeed so behaved towards his enemies that they feared him with the utmost fear and loved him with hearty love; and in his country he maintained unshaken peace, law and unbroken prosperity, so that the inhabitants thereof abode in the beauty of peace, in the tents of trustfulness and in plenteous ease; and he quelled all insolence, disturbances, rioting and rebellion. Now he had this habit, that he was wont to travel every year through all the districts of his kingdom with a large retinue, to become acquainted with his people, to reprove shortcomings, to administer justice, to punish rebels, to cherish and reward the good, and, with the officers of each district, thoroughly to reform all shortcomings. He would not allow within his kingdom any idlers without a trade or means of livelihood. When the knights and officers of one district went away from him, the sheriff of another district, with a chosen train of knights, came to meet him. Moreover he made it a statute of the realm that every one should, in each working day, dig the length and breadth of his own body—that is, seven feet—considering that idleness is the foe of virtue. Likewise he would not allow

very many licenses for horses, save only those devoted to work, in the court of any lord, or the houses of the rich; for too great a number of horses destroys the sustenance of the poor; for they were bred neither for necessary purposes nor for profit. The king also decreed that merchandise should not cross over by sea to any place without the kingdom; for so many ships were distressed, others taken by foes and enemies, that the kingdom was much impoverished in this particular; and therefore he decreed that up to a certain time no ship should pass out of the realm on pain of loss of goods. Thus, notwithstanding it was with great difficulty that this was enforced, yet many ships laden with all manner of merchandise would come in abundance and readily to the country in these days without danger, and barter all their merchandise, goods for goods, without the medium of cash. This king also forbade any but free burgesses to meddle in such trade at all. When these statutes had been in force for a time, the country within a few years so flourished in fruitfulness and abundance of all wealth, in handicrafts also, and in metals and moneys and all the other advantages of policy and good government, that numberless ships and merchants, hearing of the king's justice and wisdom, poured in thither from all parts of the world, and said they saw in the country better and greater things than they had heard from afar. Accordingly the country became so wealthy that Lombards came from the borders of Italy, bringing into the country untold gold and silver and precious stones, and made the king an offer to build and construct a city in the country on their own account, on Queensferry hill or on an island near Cramond, if the king would see that they got the due and needful privileges and liberties. This would have been accorded to them had not death, which snatches all things away, so soon carried off the king from the world, leaving no lawful offspring from him to succeed to the throne.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Lament for the king—Prophecy of the seer Thomas the Rhymer.

Oh how painful, how bitter, how unexpected and unhappy the day, how mournful and disastrous, how full of piteous calamity and woe, how full of trouble, how bodeful of anguish and sorrow! Rightly might it be said, Woe to the dwellers in Scotland; for this is the beginning of all her woes. Now concerning this sorrow and unexpected misfortune a certain rustic

seer, named Thomas the Rhymer—it is not known by what spirit he was moved—the day before the king unfortunately fell, said to the earl of the Marches before certain Englishmen who were there, Woe worth to-morrow, for it will be a day of disaster and woe, a very great and bitter day in the kingdom of Scotland; before the twelfth hour such a wind shall blow throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland as has never been heard of for a long time past; and the blast thereof shall make the hearers stand aghast, shall humble the lofty hearts and level the high and rugged places of the mountains. But the earl of the Marches, who was at Dunbar, knew not what this could mean, and wondered exceedingly; and on the morrow, when the time came, seeing no sign of wind in the air, he thought he was wrong and had told a lie. Nevertheless, while he was at dinner, lo suddenly a messenger arrived from the north in hot haste, and knocked at the door and asked to come in; and when he had straightway formally related the king's death the night before, they all wondered and were stupefied, as though fallen into a trance. Therefore let princes, prelates and magnates remember how little we can count upon this earthly life, how unstable it is, how piteous its end, how wretched its dissolution, how terrible is death; for the hour thereof is most uncertain, and all the past is as nought, and like unto the wind.

End of Book VII.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Election of six wardens to the government of the kingdom after the death of the most noble prince Alexander III.

After the death therefore of that mighty prince Alexander III. and of all the children procreated of his body, and also of all the lawful heirs and kinsfolk descending from King William, the common ancestor, lineally or in any other way laterally, except one little girl, named Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway and daughter of Margaret, the said queen of Norway and daughter of the said Alexander king of Scotland, the kingdom of Scotland was without the government of a king for six years and nine months—as was erewhile foretold by a certain prophet in the following lines:—

"While twice three years roll by, and moons thrice three,
Without a prince the widow'd land shall be."

But after that prince, mourned by all, was interred, the prelates and magnates of the realm took counsel together, and, by the consent of all, the kingdom was governed by six wardens, to wit by the venerable lord bishop of Saint Andrews, sir William Fraser, the lord Duncan earl of Fife and the lord John de Cumyn earl of Buchan, on the north side of the water of Forth; and on the south side there were three others, to wit Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir John Cumyn and James Steward of Scotland. But Duncan, the said earl of Fife, departed this life shortly afterwards, and another was appointed in his stead. Within this period of six years, King Edward called Longshanks, having ascertained that the aforesaid Maid of Norway, Margaret by name, his sister's daughter's daughter, and daughter likewise of the daughter of the lately deceased King Alexander III., was the true and lawful heiress of the king-

dom of Scotland, and earnestly seeking to unite and annex the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland to his own kingdom of England, in the year of grace 1289 sent into Scotland six special envoys to the aforesaid six wardens for a marriage between his son and heir, Edward of Carnarvon, and the said Maid of Norway, Margaret, the heiress of Scotland. This was granted him, and ambassadors for this purpose were sent by the barons and clergy of Scotland to the said kingdom of Norway to bring the said maid and contract the said marriage in effect, saving, however, in all respects from any claim of vassalage or service for ever the rights, privileges, prerogatives and liberties of the king's majesty and crown of Scotland, which were to be in as good, free, unconditioned and honourable a position as at any past time. But, as the said maid departed this life while the arrangement was pending, the aforesaid ambassadors returned to their own country without having finished the business. Now, when these ambassadors had told their tidings and the maid's death became known, straightway a dispute arose between John de Balliol and Robert de Bruce as to which of them might seem to have precedence and to be the nearer in hereditary right to the throne. As, however, there were three who were named Robert de Bruce, we shall speak below of their right and of the difference between them.

CHAPTER II.

Statement of the right of these parties—The king of England chosen supreme judge through confidence in his good faith.

The nobles of the realm aforesaid, therefore, and the prelates, lords and wardens above mentioned again and again deliberated about the right to the throne, and discussed it and had it under consideration. Nevertheless, for many reasons, they would not give out the well-digested opinions they had formed on this matter upon mature deliberation, first, because it was a very difficult and delicate matter; secondly, because many were of different opinions as to the right of succession to the throne, and wavered on many points, some through favour, some through fear, and some through ignorance; and also because they had no head or superior in the kingdom who durst uphold the truth, or would duly carry their sentence into execution and by force compel the parties to comply with the sentence. At length, all things considered, they decided unanimously to send ambassadors for Edward king of England, as being the friend and ally

of the kingdom, they having confidence in him on account of the previous marriage, and most earnestly beseech him, as the supreme judge chosen by the consent of all to pronounce as to the right of each, that he should take upon him the burden of judging between the aforesaid parties as to the right of succession to the throne of Scotland, and further that he should, with the help of the lords of the realm, by might and force of arms in case of refusal, coerce either party to comply with the sentence to be judicially passed and pronounced by him according to the requirements of justice. This was accordingly done. The aforesaid Edward, on being requested at their instance, came to Berwick, and summoned for a given day all who had to be summoned and who thought they had an interest in the said cause; and all the estates of the realm of Scotland met there, protesting in a body that this summons was not to prejudice the kingdom of Scotland in any way, and that he was not thereby to presume in future to claim any overlordship, in any kind or shape, over the kingdom of Scotland, or believe or allege that any right or jurisdiction accrued to him; and that he had been sent for, not as overlord or lawful judge, but as a friendly peacemaker and arbitrator and the most powerful friend in the neighbourhood, besought by the inhabitants to allay and put an end to the threatening quarrel by his wisdom and power, and called in and chosen as a friendly peacemaker by way of an alternative. All this he pledged himself to, before the day and the commencement of the suit, by a plain declaration and by his letters-patent delivered to the councillors and wardens of Scotland. When therefore all the freeholders of the kingdom of Scotland whose duty it was to be present, or who could conveniently be so, had come together before him, the principal parties took an oath that they would unhesitatingly obey the decree and sentence he was to pronounce in determining the right to the royal succession; and likewise all the prelates, lords, barons and others, clergy and burgesses, with the other aforesaid wardens and representatives of communities, firmly bound themselves in like manner by their letters-patent sealed with their seals, and also by a public and authentic instrument, one and all to obey, as their king and overlord in law and in fact, of the two competitors before the king of England, that one whom he should declare to have the right of reigning over the kingdom of Scotland. So, when this had been thus settled, the said King Edward of England chose twenty-four[1] men, distinguished by learning, character, age and loyalty, the most discreet in any estate or rank, to the number aforesaid, twelve of whom were from the kingdom of

Scotland and the other twelve from the kingdom of England; and, after these had taken the great oath to speak the truth, he charged them to leave out all the others who claimed a right to the throne—for there were many—and, by virtue of the oath they had taken and at the peril of their souls, to faithfully examine and judge between the aforesaid John de Balliol and Robert de Bruce the elder and, after judging, to make known their decision as to which of them was in law, according to the custom of the kingdom, the nearer to the succession to the throne, after the death of the said king Alexander last deceased.

CHAPTER III.

King Edward treacherously has the nobles of Scotland summoned to the Council in order to deceive them.

But in order to make the matter clear, and free it from the falsehood in which they had wrapped it up, it should be noted that in the year 1286 a parliament was proclaimed at Scone, where there was hot and keen litigation and argument before the Estates of the realm, between the elder Robert de Bruce, the grandfather, that is to say, of the great king Robert de Bruce, and the said John de Balliol, to determine the right of the aforesaid parties. For John de Balliol said he rather ought to be king, inasmuch as he was sprung from Dorvorgilla, the elder sister [2] of the daughter of David earl of Huntingdon; and his mother, that is to say the eldest sister, was still alive. Robert de Bruce, on the other hand, answered, No; for, though he, Robert de Bruce, proceeded from the second and younger sister, yet he was the first male of David's blood surviving, and his grandson, and nearer than Balliol by one degree of lineal consanguinity; and he argued that one of the female line ought not to succeed so long as a male was to be found, nor ought a great-grandson to take precedence of a grandson. So when these allegations had been very strongly put forward on either side and listened to, there arose a great division in the country, among both clergy and people, between the friends and supporters of the parties; for some said that the said John de Balliol, inasmuch as he proceeded from the elder sister, ought to be king, because of the age of his ancestress; while others said that the said Robert de Bruce, though he proceeded from the second and younger sister, yet, forasmuch as he was the first male descended from the said family, ought to be king on the grounds

both of succession and of propinquity, because he was one degree nearer to the parent stem, that is to say the said earl David of Huntingdon. So, on account of these divisions and disputes, in order to avoid a threatening danger, all the magnates of the kingdom, the prelates, chiefs, lords and the wardens of the kingdom, and also with one accord all the communities of the Three Estates, unanimously agreed on King Edward of England, as stated above, in manner and form aforesaid, for the deciding of the question about the right to the throne, as to which of them ought rightfully to be king. Thus both parties referred the matter to the said king of England, and decided that he should determine the rights of the two parties in the said cause, and duly compel that party against whom he should pass and pronounce his sentence to comply with a good grace and abide by it firmly and steadfastly, according to the requirements of justice. So when this was settled, three nobles, namely the bishop of Brechin, the abbot of Jedburgh and Geoffroy de Mowbray, were chosen as ambassadors to inform the king of England of what had passed, and to implore his advice and assistance in the matter, and also with regard to the state and governance of the kingdom and the recovery of the lands of Penrith and other domains. This was accordingly done; and, having got an answer from the king of England, they went back to Scotland and, on a council being held by the wardens of the kingdom at Clackmannan, they informed them of the king's answer that he would willingly comply with their request as soon as he conveniently could. The king of England meanwhile quickly sent to the councillors, prelates and lords of his realm, and informed them that he could easily bring the kingdom of Scotland and its people under his sway, considering their disunion. Nevertheless he revealed his intention to them, asking their opinion upon it, namely to send ambassadors at once over to France, and request them to send him back the opinion of some of the most skilful lawyers of the country; and this likewise was accordingly done. As, however, the case was, through an unfair and false suggestion, not put candidly before these lawyers, no good plea or advice of the least value could come of it; for the inconsistencies and misrepresentations in the case put before them, proceeding from a corrupt intent, could by no means form the ground of a correct opinion on a doubtful point of law. The substance of this false suggestion is given here below as follows.

CHAPTER IV.

The king of a kingdom, being not crowned nor anointed, but only set on the throne by the earls, prelates and lords, in the usual place of coronation, and holding that kingdom in fee by homage from another king as the direct overlord of that kingdom, in course of time dies without children or heirs whatsoever, being lineal descendants. But that king, who is the direct overlord of that kingdom, on there compearing before him many, each of whom asserts himself to be the heir to the said kingdom, that superior takes that kingdom into his own hands until it shall have been discussed before him by process of law which of them has the better right, and is the nearer to the succession to the said kingdom. Among these, however, there appear two especially, who say they are descended from the brother of the grandfather of the said defunct king. One, say Cicius, sprung[3] from the daughter of the said brother of the king's grandfather, was great-grandson of the said brother; and the other, Senus, was descended from the second daughter of the said brother, and was grandson of the said brother: and thus these two trace to the defunct king in the collateral line. But Cicius relies upon the right of primogeniture, while Senus is more nearly related by one step. So, supposing that kingdom to be indivisible, the question is, Which of these ought to come first in the succession to the said kingdom?

CHAPTER V.

Decision of the Parisian doctors learned in the law, on the discussion of the rights of the said litigants.

The first lawyer was the bishop of Orleans, who draws a distinction and asks whether in the kingdom of Scotland, on the subject of the succession to the throne thereof, it can be laid down, upon the strength of settled and established custom, that in any line whatever, whether descending, ascending, or collateral, the eldest son, or the issue of the eldest son or daughter, ought to come first in the succession to the said throne; and in that case the custom must be adhered to, setting aside all law or any other right whatever. Or there is in the said matter no settled and established custom: and then he says one must have recourse to the common or imperial law. This

law lays it down that, when two claimants [4] to a given throne trace in the collateral line to the king last deceased, and are not brothers or sons of brothers, but removed a step further, the one a step nearer stands first in the succession, notwithstanding primogeniture on the other side. The same view and the same kind of view was held by master Symon Matifas, bishop of Paris, by the lord Peter de Capella, bishop of Carcassonne, by the lord John de Feritate, by master John de Sylomonte, and by the provost of Marseilles: for they say that in such a case as that of these claimants to the throne of Scotland, both by the written law and by the general custom of the kingdom of France among high and low, the nearer in degree, even though he be a second son or the issue of a second son, comes before one a step further removed, even though he should be the elder or the issue of the elder. Now this takes place [5] in the case of the king of France and of the other peers of his court, namely if the eldest son has children surviving, and dies while his father is alive, and then his father dies, the second son succeeds the father, because he is nearer to him, and the eldest son's children, who are further removed, though they have primogeniture on their side, are kept out. This was the very decision which Louis, the last king of France, who went on the crusade to Tunis, expressly gave before his baronage, in the case of the children of his eldest son Philip, namely that, if this Philip had died during the lifetime of his father Louis, this Philip's children would not have succeeded King Louis on the throne as long as there were left any other sons of that Louis. These persons, however, say that, if it were a custom of the kingdom of Scotland that primogeniture in whatever degree should give the preference in succession, that custom ought to be specially adhered to in preference to all other laws, whether written or customary.

CHAPTER VI.

The same continued; the king of England misstates the case.

On this subject, moreover, these lawyers again were asked whether, if no custom has yet been established in such a case as that of these claimants to the oft-mentioned throne of Scotland—for the case, or one like it, never arose before this time as regards the succession to the crown of Scotland, though perhaps, as regards the subjects of that crown, as for instance earls, barons and others, such a case has repeatedly happened—whether the

succession to the said throne shall be adjudicated upon according to the custom established with regard to earldoms, baronies[6] and other successions in the said kingdom. No, say the said lawyers, because, as the case is put by the king of the English, the crown of Scotland is held in fee of the crown of England. This is perfectly false. But, if it were so, the claimants to the throne of Scotland claim it in the court of the king of England, and not in the court of the king of Scotland; and thus it happens that this case ought to be adjudicated upon according to the custom of the court of the king of England, which would apply to the peers[7] of that court. Observe in this connection the remarkable instance of the duke of Burgundy. The duke of Burgundy had an eldest son, who had begotten of his lawful wife three daughters, the first of whom was married to the comte de Nevers. This eldest son died while his father was alive, and at the latter's death a younger son, who was afterwards the duke, claimed the dukedom in the court of France, as next heir to his father. On the other hand the comte de Nevers in like manner claimed the dukedom on behalf of his wife, on the plea that it was the general custom in the kingdom of France and throughout the whole duchy of Burgundy that, so long as there remain any more sprung from the eldest son, the second son shall not succeed, though he be a step nearer the father. The opposite side owned that this was the general custom in that duchy and in the court of the said duke with regard to his subjects, who have to sue out their right to any succession whatever in his court; but this proves nothing as to the duke or dukedom of Burgundy, because the said duke sues out his right to the said dukedom of Burgundy not in his own court, but in the court of the king of France, as one of the peers of the realm of France. Hence the judgment to be given as to the duchy in the court of the king of France ought to be in accordance with the custom of the court of the kingdom of France, namely that which is observed even with the kings within the territory[7] of the crown of France. While, however, the aforesaid question was pending, the king of France gave his own sister to wife, in Paris, to the second son, who was afterwards the duke; so the comte de Nevers, thinking the matter over, and firmly believing that the king of France would not have given his own sister to any one without property, felt satisfied that the final sentence would be a judgment given against him, and withdrew his claim, content with a moderate sum for costs. Thus, therefore, as regards the Scottish succession, one must not follow the custom of the court of the king of Scotland, which is observed in the case of the subjects

of that crown, such as earls, barons and others; but one must rather follow the custom which has been established in the court of the king of England with regard to the peers of that court. But if no custom dealing with the above case or a similar one is to be found even in that court, recourse must be had to the written law, whereby, without any doubt, the nearer in degree of relationship would be preferred.

CHAPTER VII.

The same continued.—View taken by others.

Master Egidius Lamberti, dean of Saint Martin's of Tours, being questioned upon this matter, says that in the kingdom of France primogeniture does not give any one precedence over others in succession, except when there are several of the same degree of relationship, such as several sons, several grandsons or great-grandsons, brothers or sisters, or several sons of brothers or sisters; and so on in the more remote degrees, descending in the same line or collaterally. But when it is a question of several persons of various degrees, the nearer in degree of relationship straightway has precedence in the succession, notwithstanding primogeniture, as we see in the case of a second son, who, in the succession to the father, has precedence over the children of a firstborn brother deceased while the father was living. And this same course is followed in the more remote degrees in the same line, as also in collateral lines. Nevertheless, if it should be the custom in the kingdom of Scotland that the eldest, or the issue of the eldest, though a step farther removed, must have precedence in the succession to the father, that established custom is to be complied with before all things. Furthermore, on being told that other great men are of opinion that, in this case of the succession to the throne of Scotland, not the custom of the kingdom of Scotland, but rather the custom of the court of England, which is in force among the peers[7] of that court, is to be followed, he draws this distinction upon this point, saying: Either we are dealing with the claim to this throne of Scotland, making an order upon the proceedings themselves, and following the course of the pleadings,—and, so far as this goes, we are to comply with the custom of the court of the king of England, in which the claim to the throne of Scotland is made; or we are dealing with the decision or settlement of the matter itself, in which case we must comply with the custom of the place where the thing in

question is situated: Hence, as the question is as to the throne of Scotland, as regards the settlement of the matter and the adjudication of the right to the throne itself, the custom of the kingdom of Scotland is to be followed. Such are the distinctions and definitions of the doctors of both kinds of law in that matter. Then he was yet further asked whether, in adjudging the kingdom of Scotland to one of the claimants, the custom of that kingdom ought to be followed, or whether the custom which has been established with regard to the kings of Scotland personally, as to the succession to that throne, shall be followed. To this he answers that the custom established in the case of the kings of Scotland, and not in the case of their subjects, is to be followed. The custom with regard to the succession in the case of the kings is different from that in the case of their subjects. For we hold this as a rule and chief proposition, that custom descends, not ascends, which must be understood to mean that the lower ought to be judged by the custom of the higher, and not contrariwise. If, therefore, as regards the succession to this throne, no custom has yet been met with applying to the kings personally, in such a case as that of the said claimants,—for a custom is nought but what is often accustomed to happen, and this case seems never to have happened before,—still we must not [8] have recourse to the custom established in the successions of the earls and barons of that kingdom; but in that case we must have recourse to the custom of the superior court, namely, to the custom of the court of England, in which, according to the opposing party, the succession to this throne has to be adjudicated upon. Now, this is altogether false and detestable, for he has not the slightest authority of superior lord or judge, nor any jurisdiction over the throne of Scotland; only, by his treacherous and false suggestion, such was his story in the case he put to the learned lawyers of France, that they might believe so.

CHAPTER VIII.

The same continued.—Their opinions.

Master Salinus, master Tancretus, master Reverius de Senis, in like manner, in a conference on this subject, after having well studied the book *De Usibus Feudorum*, found many very apposite answers to the questions put to them, and said that ascendants shall not succeed in a fief, as is declared in the

said book, under the heading *De natura successionis feodi*, chapter first. For by this is shut out the claim of the king of Norway, who was ascendant to the succession of his daughter Margaret, who was at that time heir-apparent to the throne of Scotland. They also afterwards found that a natural son, a bastard, though he shall have been afterwards legitimised, even in temporal matters, whether by a subsequent marriage or otherwise, shall not succeed to a fief, as may be seen in the said third book, in the last chapter, heading *Si de feodo defuncti*, and in the chapter *Naturales*. And by this is shut out Sir William de Ross, though there is complete evidence of the legitimation of his ancestress Isabella. They then likewise found that a woman, or issue springing from her, cannot aspire to the succession to a fief, as is laid down in the said book, heading *De gradu successionis in feodum*, chapter first. By this are shut out the count of Holland, Robert de Broys and John de Balliol, as these latter lay claim to the said throne by descent from two sisters, and the count of Holland by descent from another.[9] They also found a case expressly excluding Robert de Broys and likewise John de Balliol: For on the death of Titius without lawful heir-male, the succession to this fief does not belong to the paternal granduncle of this Titius nor to issue descending from him, as carefully stated under the said heading *Successionis in feodum*, chapter first. But David earl of Huntingdon, the ancestor of the said Robert and John, by descent from whom these claim the said throne, was the paternal granduncle of King Alexander last deceased, and was the brother of the illustrious King William, the grandfather of the said Alexander; and thus the succession to this fief ought not to belong to the issue descending from the said earl David, but shall revert to the overlord of that fief. They also found that recourse is had to the common law in fiefs only when no custom of the country is to be found, as laid down in the same book, heading *De cognicione feodi*, chapter first, at the end. They also found that in fiefs the custom which is in force in the greater ought also to be in force in the less; but they found no injunction that the greater be bound by the custom of the less; see under heading *De natura feodi*, chapter first, at the end. These, however, say that if an uniform custom have been established with reference to the succession to the throne of Scotland, in such a case as that now occurring, or a similar one, that custom is to be adhered to and all laws set aside; but if not, recourse is to be had to the custom of neighbouring countries; and if,[10] in such a case as this, it is not to be found, either recourse is to be had to the laws *De Usibus Feodorum*, whereby all the claimants are barred, and

the throne falls to the overlord, or recourse is to be had to the common and imperial laws, whereby a succession passing over to the collateral line, beyond brothers and sons of brothers, undoubtedly comes to the nearer in degree of relationship, notwithstanding primogeniture is with another person. But the doctors master John de Forcalcaria, master Syrardus Pagii and master Reverius of Florence in their decisions say that, both by canon and civil law, seeing that these claimants are connected with the king last deceased in the collateral line, and also because they are further than brothers or sons of brothers, no heed must be paid to any primogeniture, but the nearer in degree has the preference. This is true unless the custom of the country in the place in question prescribes something else; for established custom, in its own place, comes before all law.

CHAPTER IX.

The same continued.—Decision in favour of King Robert.

THE LORD WILLIAM BONET, the highest authority in canon law, says that, if either of Earl David's daughters had outlived King Alexander last deceased, the succession to the said throne would have passed over to her and to her descendants; but if neither of them had outlived the said king, then that one of the two claimants who was born first, though he may have been descended from a second sister, is yet to take precedence in the succession to the said throne, because he thus first became the kinsman of the said king. There is almost expressed authority for this, in a passage on the succession of kinsmen related collaterally. Reginald Barbon, bailiff of Normandy, leant towards the view of the dean of Tours in this, namely, that if a well-established custom is in force in the case of the kings of Scotland with reference to the succession in question, that must be strictly adhered to, and the custom in force in the successions of earls, barons and other subjects of that realm must not be followed. But, if no custom as to the succession to the said throne shall have been established with regard to the kings personally, in such a case as the foregoing or the like, then recourse must be had to the custom of the court of England, which, according to the false suggestion of the king of England, is the superior court in which the question of the kingship is dealt with. But if no custom is to be found in the English court with regard to the peers [7] thereof, applicable

to the foregoing case or the like, the king of England can have recourse to the process of the written law, or, by the advice of the peers of his court, as well as the lords and magnates of his land, he may make [11] a new law to meet this case and other like cases which have not happened before. Sir Thomas de Welland, however, says that, unless some express law or custom, applicable to the foregoing case or the like, exist in the kingdom of Scotland as to the succession to the throne, he considers this case altogether similar to a case of like nature having reference to an earldom or barony in the kingdom of England, if such should arise: for the throne of Scotland, according to the adverse party, is held of the throne of England in fee for service, just like an earldom or barony in the kingdom of England. But, if an earldom or barony in the kingdom of England had fallen into this predicament, he who had sprung from the eldest sister would alone get the name and dignity, and would also get the chief property attached to the earldom, whether a castle or some other property; while the others, who had sprung from the other sisters, ought to have their share of the whole inheritance in question, for all the sisters, as many as there may have been, represent one heir of their father. And thus, though John de Balliol, by reason of his primogeniture, ought alone to have the name of the regal dignity, and also the chief place of the kingdom of Scotland, whether it be town, castle, or palace, yet nevertheless, seeing that John de Balliol himself and Robert de Broys and John de Hastings were sprung from the three daughters of Earl David, since they were all three representatives of but one heir of the said earl, who must be resorted to [12] for the right to the said throne, the said Robert de Broys and John Hastings ought to have their share of all property in whatever way belonging to the king of Scotland. These shares they ought to hold of the king of England as their overlord, granting him to be so, and of no one else, and as freely as the other one holds the chief property; nor shall this John de Balliol perform any kingly function as regards their shares; and this would be a great advantage and safeguard to the overlord. Also, when he was asked whether, if Sir Robert de Broys should have an unfavourable judgment upon his claim, in which he claims the whole kingdom, as being the nearer in degree, he could afterwards go back and claim his share, on the grounds stated above, namely, that his mother and the other two sisters were one heir of the said Earl David, he answered that he could, and that he ought to get his share by a final judgment.

CHAPTER X.

The same continued.

The master-general of the Minorites, by the deliberate advice of his whole community in Paris, answered thus:—If any custom applicable to the case in hand shall have been established in the kingdom of England or Scotland, that is to be observed before everything; but, if not, the king must employ either the imperial law or the divine law. If the former, it is well enough known to lawyers what is to be done. If the divine law, the Bible text is plain enough; to wit in favour of him who is the nearer in degree; as it is written in the Book of Numbers, chapter xxvii., at the beginning, where it says: Then came the daughters of Salphat, and stood before Moses and Eleazar the priest and all the chiefs of the people, and said, Our father died in the wilderness. He had no male children. Why therefore is his name done away from among his family, because he had no son? Give unto us these possessions among our father's kinsmen. And Moses submitted their cause to the judgment of the Lord, who said unto him: The daughters of Salphat make a just demand; give them possessions among their father's kinsmen, and let them succeed their father in his inheritance. And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a man die and have no son, the inheritance shall pass to his daughter; and, if he have no daughter, he shall have his brethren as his successors; and, if he have no brethren, the inheritance shall be given to his father's brethren; (and, if he has no paternal uncles, the inheritance shall) [13] be given to those who are next of kin to him. And this shall be made a law for ever unto the children of Israel, as the Lord commanded Moses. Thus all the greatest and most skilful of the whole order said that the nearer in degree is by all means to take precedence, as is manifest from the Lord's judgment. Moreover, another said he saw in Hainault a case where he who was descended from the eldest son was four degrees removed; and the other, who came from the second son, was only three degrees removed; and the inheritance was given to him who was the nearer. So, after these consultations had been held and digested, as aforesaid, Edward king of England came to Norham in the year 1289, and had all the magnates and wardens of the kingdom of Scotland assembled, together with the prelates, and cajoled them with sweet words, urging them to agree unanimously upon a king, and make peace among themselves; that he would, as they saw, be most greatly rejoiced "that no stranger

should intermeddle among you. But if ye are unable to agree in one decision, come back hither on such a day, and we shall announce to you what God shall have given us to understand in this matter, and shall administer justice." But alas that ever the single-minded, faithful and truthful lords and prelates of the Scots should have so put faith in that false, deceitful and mischief-making king of the English, who was like a wicked enchanter with his poisonous blandishments and flattery, or should have in any wise sought advice, help, or assistance from him, while the wretched people of this realm were bereft of a shepherd and, as it were, wounded by a serpent! For, at the instigation of the devil, through greed and lust of power, and to subdue the kingdom of Scotland to his sway, he spread the snares of wickedness for the guiltless, and infamously sowed, as it were, tares in the Lord's wheat,—the incurable and pestilential venom of asps, to poison the whole kingdom and its inhabitants with honeyed lies under the cloak of piety.

CHAPTER XI.

His subtlety and devices.

The following year great dissension and strife was stirred up among the magnates of the kingdom of Scotland, among both clergy and people, between those who sided definitively with the aforesaid parties, those, namely, of Bruce and of Balliol, to the exclusion of all other parties who claimed a right to the throne. Meanwhile, moreover, gestes and chronicles are searched in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, Ireland and France,[14] at the suggestion of certain adversaries of this kingdom and through insinuations breathed by wicked Englishmen into the ears of the king of England, not only for the sake of inquiring into the law and custom of the kingdoms, in order to decide the question between Robert Bruce and John Balliol, but also rather for the sake of investigating and examining the right of the king of England to the vassalage of the kingdom of Scotland. In this year all the chiefs of the kingdom of Scotland met at Upsetlington in England, coming under the king's safe-conduct and at the said king's request, and were gathered together at the parish church of Norham. Here the king of England, at first somewhat mysteriously and lightly, and as if not seriously, claimed the direct suzerainty over the kingdom of Scotland, which, he asserted, belonged to him, in the same manner as his predecessors had it, as[15] he could

openly show by the weighty evidence hitherto brought forward on this point. He was briefly and at once answered by the bishop of Glasgow, who said that from the very first and at all times from of old the kingdom of Scotland had been free, in such wise as to owe no one any homage or tribute whatever, save only God and him who held his power on earth; and the bishop further went on to add, saying, "O king, I my own self have gathered from the books and chronicles of the English, and particularly from the books of Gildas, that the kingdom of Scotland was noble, strong and powerful among all the kingdoms of the earth; and the nobles and people of this realm fought mightily and manfully against the following nations, withstood them and their most wicked and cruel devices and attacks, and in the end drove them out of the said realm, conquered and overcome; hence the lines,

> The Britons, Northmen, Picts and Danes repelled,[16]
> Nobly the Scots their country's right upheld."

The king, hearing this, pretended to go on and not pay much heed to the bishop's answer, giving all his attention to the restoration of the Scottish throne; and, as though no longer caring about his claim, he cunningly brought in other matter, and besought the prelates and lords of the kingdom of Scotland to meet together at Berwick on a certain given date, and there for certain, without further delay, get a final deliverance upon the subject, namely the moot point as to the right to the throne. But the Searcher of hearts knew it was just the opposite, for he was making every effort to create discord and not agreement, as his subsequent acts prove. Nevertheless, the magnates of the realm consented unto him and came together with one accord at Berwick, and chose twenty-four of the most discreet and prominent and able men of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, namely, twelve of England and as many of Scotland, and, after swearing them by the great oath, appointed them to determine the above-mentioned point as to the right to the throne; and these, after sifting the truth of the affair, found that Robert Bruce had the better right to the government of the kingdom. The king, however, had the entry to the elected committee as often as he liked, and pried into and learnt all their secrets, and none gainsaid him; so, on pondering that Robert Bruce thus had right on his side in the business, he repaired to his privy council, and drawing some aside informed them that he was displeased at their agreeing, and wished they would by no means deliver judgment finally upon the right to the throne without having

first promised the vassalage of the throne of Scotland in every way to him and his successors.[17]

CHAPTER XII.

Their arguments at the council of the king of England in favour of the vassalage of the throne of Scotland.

The questions of the king of England were answered by an Englishman named Anthony Beck, who spoke as follows:—"If Robert Bruce, who is of the best stock in the kingdom of the English, were to be king of Scotland, where would Edward king of England be? For this Robert is also very powerful in Scotland, witness the many and numberless woful disasters inflicted in times past upon the kingdom of England by the kings of the aforesaid kingdom."[18] The king was as it were struck by this, and patting him on the head answered in French, saying, "Par le sang de Dieu, tu as bien chanté!" that is to say, By God's blood, thou hast well sung! "but I promise thee things shall go otherwise than thou hast imagined, my friend." And so all his councillors, one after another, now openly, now in secret, said that, if he delivered a judgment without the vassalage of the throne of Scotland, he would be sowing the seeds of inconceivable injury to the kingdom of the English, its kings and people: and such was the conclusion finally arrived at. Thereupon he sent for the elder Robert Bruce, and asked him whether he would hold the said throne from him in chief, as his overlord; and, if he did so, he would appoint him king of that kingdom. But Robert Bruce answered him respectfully and quickly, saying, "If I can g[illegible] the aforesaid kingdom by hereditary right, well and good; if not, I desire not to reign over that kingdom, even if I could do so by might. But to bring under the yoke the aforesaid kingdom, which all the kings, my predecessors, from the beginning have held in freedom, and have with such toil and trouble defended and kept until now from all thraldom or colour of vassalage, that I wholly refuse." On hearing this, he cleverly had the aforesaid Robert removed without any noise; and, calling the said John Balliol, he spoke to him as above described, and addressed him in similar words, tempting him. The latter, after a short consultation upon the aforesaid king's request, speedily complied with it, and, so as to hold the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland of him and his successors, he secretly promised to take the oath of allegiance and fealty to him there-

upon, as is customary. When this was over, the king, who had intimidated all the jurors, summoned the parties, and before all the great men of the kingdoms of England and Scotland proclaimed John Balliol king,[19] as having full right to the throne, and pronounced him the true heir to the throne. But, after the said judgment had been thus delivered, the earl of Gloucester said to the king of the English: "O king, think and ponder in thy mind what manner of judgment thou hast this day delivered in this matter; for thou must know that, in the examination at the last judgment, it will behove thee to answer for this day's judgment before the Supreme Judge." On hearing this, Robert Bruce, by the said earl's advice, retired from the court; nor did he ever do homage or tender the oath of fealty to John Balliol.

CHAPTER XIII.

Brief statement of the genealogy of the kings of Scotland, beginning from Saint Margaret down to the daughter of the king of Norway.

In order, however, that with reference to the right to the throne it might come out more clearly to whom it ought to belong, there is introduced here a brief consecutive statement of the succession of the kings of Scotland, beginning from King Malcolm and Saint Margaret, down to the queen of Norway, who was the daughter of King Alexander III., and after whose death the whole succession, whether lineal or collateral, among the descendants of King William, came to an end. On this subject, therefore, observe that Malcolm king of Scotland espoused the blessed Queen Margaret in the year 1067, and took her to wife, and of her begat six renowned sons, namely Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Alexander and Saint David, and also two daughters, Matilda, the good queen of England, and Mary, wedded to the count of Boulogne. Of these six sons three were crowned kings, namely Edgar, Alexander and David, who begat one son only, named Henry, buried at Kelso, who was earl of Huntingdon. This Henry begat three sons, Malcolm, who died a maiden, William and David. This Henry died before his father; and on the death of his father, the sainted King David, his grandson Malcolm came to the throne, and was crowned king at twelve years old only, and reigned only twelve years. He was succeeded by his brother King William, who reigned fifty-two[20] years, and

died, and was buried at Arbroath, which he himself had founded. This King William begat Alexander II., who succeeded him on the throne, and reigned thirty-six years, and died at Curlay (Kerrera), and was buried at Melrose. This Alexander II. begat Alexander III., who succeeded his father, and likewise reigned thirty-six years, and died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign at Kinghorn, and was buried at Dunfermline. This Alexander III. begat, of the queen of Scotland, the sister of Edward I. king of England, two sons, Alexander and David, who both died childless before their father. He also begat of her one daughter, named Margaret, queen of Norway. Then this queen of Scotland died, and was entombed at Dunfermline. Of this Margaret queen of Norway, however, Eric[21] king of Norway begat one daughter, named Margaret, who died in girlhood, childless. And thus with her the whole family is exhausted as far as David of Huntingdon, the said King William's younger brother, to whose line we must needs go back.

CHAPTER XIV.

The same continued.

During the successive reigns of Kings Malcolm and William, kings and brothers-german, David their brother married the countess of Huntingdon, of whom he begat three daughters. The first of these, called Margaret, was married to Alan of Galloway, son of Rotholand, and of her this Alan of Galloway begat two daughters, the first of whom, Dorvorgilla by name, married John Balliol, who of her begat one son, likewise bearing his father's name John; and this John was afterwards king for a time, though not rightfully, and was disgraced and degraded by reason of his unworthiness. This King John begat Edward Balliol, with whom the name of Balliol came to an end, for there was no further issue of either sex from these. But the said John Balliol begat of the said Dorvorgilla, daughter of the said Alan of Galloway, one daughter, by name Marjory, who married John Cumyn, and of her this John begat one son, likewise bearing his father's name John, whom Robert Bruce killed at Dumfries. This second John Cumyn, however, begat one daughter, who married David earl of Athol; and of her he begat several sons, the eldest of whom, David by name, took the daughter of the lord Beaumont to wife, and of her begat one son, named David. She indeed was one of the heirs of John Cumyn earl of Buchan.

But the sister of the said Dorvorgilla, who was the daughter of the said Alan of Galloway and Margaret, daughter of the said earl of Huntingdon, married Roger de Quincy, and of her the said Roger begat three daughters, who were married to three nobles, namely one to sir John Ferrars, another to Alexander earl of Buchan, whose[22] eldest daughter Henry Beaumont took to wife, and the third was married to the lord Zouche. Of these sprang an innumerable issue.

CHAPTER XV.

The second daughter of David of Huntingdon.

Now as to the second daughter of the aforesaid Earl David, the younger brother of the said King William, namely Isabella, sir Robert Bruce the elder, who took her to wife, begat of her one son named Robert. This second Robert Bruce begat a third Robert Bruce, who was earl of Carrick; and this third Robert, the earl of Carrick, begat a fourth Robert Bruce, the most illustrious king of Scotland, and Edward Bruce, and several other uterine brothers, who all, save King Robert, died childless. He also had several daughters, one of whom was married to Gartenay earl of Mar, who of her begat Donald earl of Mar, who was called Baan, and who was very successful in all his undertakings, and died at the battle of Dupplin; and he was one of the wardens of the kingdom. This Donald begat Thomas earl of Mar, who married the heiress of Menteith, who was divorced from her husband without issue. Another daughter was joined in wedlock to Hugh earl of Ross, who begat of her William, likewise earl of Ross. But Robert Bruce, while he was earl of Carrick, took to wife Isabella, the sister of the said Gartenay earl of Mar, and of her begat an only daughter named Marjory, who married Walter the steward of Scotland; and of her this Walter begat a son named Robert, who was afterwards king, the first, to wit, of this surname, and the second of this name. This Robert actually, though not lawfully, married one of the daughters of Adam de Mure, knight, of whom he begat sons and daughters out of wedlock; and afterwards, through the apostolic dispensation, he joined her unto him in wedlock and legitimised his issue by the forms of the church in the year 1349. But on the death of the aforesaid daughter of the earl of Mar and sister of the said Gartenay earl of Mar, this Robert Bruce took to wife the daughter of Haymer de Burgh earl of Ulster,

and of her the said Robert Bruce, then king of Scotland, begat Matilda and Margaret. The said Margaret married the earl of Sutherland, who begat of her an only son named John, who, with his father, was afterwards a hostage in England for the release of King David, son of the said Robert Bruce. His mother departed this life immediately after his birth. Of the aforesaid Matilda I say nothing at all, for she did nothing worthy of remembrance. King Robert Bruce also begat, in the seventeenth year of his reign, an only son, named David, who was afterwards king and succeeded him. Let wise and skilful men therefore think which of them had a right to the throne, for this is the true and correct lineal course of the pedigree of the whole of the aforesaid family. It should be observed also that John Balliol, the spouse of the aforesaid Dorvorgilla, died before the death of King Alexander III.; but the mother[23] survived him. The third daughter of the said Earl David of Huntingdon married Henry of Hastings, and was named Ada; and of their issue no mention is made in this chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

Saint Margaret's two daughters.

Now the aforesaid Malcolm begat of the aforesaid blessed Margaret two daughters, one of whom, Matilda by name, married Henry Beauclerk, son of William the Bastard, king and conqueror of England. This Henry Beauclerk king of England begat of the aforesaid Matilda one daughter, called Matilda like her mother, and she married the emperor Henry of Germany, who lived with her twenty years and died without issue. After his death the empress returned to her parents, still alive in England, and by their advice afterwards married the count of Andegavia, in French *Anjou,* and of Pictavia, in French *Poitou,* Geoffroy by name. The count of Anjou and Poitou begat of her one son, likewise named Henry, and this Henry, the son of the Empress, afterwards, upon the death of his grandfather, the king of the English, without children, succeeded him in the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy through his grandfather Henry Beauclerk king of the English; and he also succeeded his father Geoffrey in the counties of Anjou and Poitou.

. . . .

Saint Margaret's second daughter, namely Mary, married the count of Boulogne, who of her begat Matilda, who was first

countess of Mans[24] and afterwards queen of England, wife of King Stephen of England; and she bare a son, Eustace by name, who would have been king, only he died before his father. This is the whole lineage of the said Mary, King Malcolm's second daughter.

Now Saint Fiacre[25] was the son of a certain king of Scotland; and when his church of Brie was plundered by the followers of the king of England, the latter refused to restore when requested to do so. Wherefore it is commonly held in France that it was for this reason, to avenge the unexpiated sacrilege, that he deservedly caught the taint of this malady through his own unworthiness—as he publicly confessed a little before his death, saying, "See how bitter is the atrocious cruelty of the Scots, which not only wreaks its vengeance on the English nation during life, but even after death attacks it with its accustomed severity."

CHAPTER XVII.

Balliol and his most wretched government.

In the year 1292, on the last day of November, John Balliol was, with the help of the king of England, set up as king at Scone, and was placed on the royal seat of stone, as the custom is, and crowned;[26] and, on Saint Stephen's day next following, he, without consulting the barons, prelates, or other inhabitants of the kingdom, shamefully and most foolishly did homage to King Edward the tyrant, at Newcastle, for the kingdom of Scotland which he was to hold of him. Such a thing had never been seen from the beginning of the world, and until the end of the world shall not the disgrace thereof be wiped out. This John Balliol was crowned in the year 1300 less eight. About the same time died Eleanor queen of England, and the king of England levied a great tax in England, from both the clergy and the laity, for the expulsion of the Jews from England. In these days also a strong wind did much damage to Scotland and England, bursting open, overthrowing and unroofing houses, burning up and withering the grass, uprooting and tearing up the trees of the forest, and doing a great deal of damage besides. In this year also the English engaged the French in a piratical sea-fight, where there was great slaughter made of the Normans, and a fearful war broke out between the kings of France and England. On account of this, therefore, King Edward of England wrote to

that most mean king, John Balliol, that he should, under due penalties by virtue of his oath and his homage as liegeman, lend him succour with all his forces to attack the king of France. When he was summoned, however, it was found in parliament [27] that he was not in the least bound thereby, on account of the oath having been extorted from him by force and intimidation, and of his having been compelled to this by coercion. And, even if he had done this of his own accord, yet, seeing that he did it without consulting the three estates of the realm, a private oath as to a public office is of no value: for the solemn oath taken at the king's coronation to rule the state duly and according to law, as is meet, cancels and annuls all other carelessly taken and private oaths repugnant to the aforesaid oaths. Indeed the king, in his private acts, is only as a private person as regards careless vows and promises and oaths: for the shortcoming of a single person ought not to redound to the detriment of the whole community; nor, in like manner, could the oath, promise, or vow of a prelate have any weight against the privileges of the church in matters affecting the ecclesiastical body or the privileges of the hierarchy: for many systems of law agree as to this. So neither does the oath tendered by the said John Balliol to the king of England, being contrary to the public and solemn oath of a king, prove anything at all against the independence of Scotland. Moreover it is well known to all that long ago an alliance was solemnly entered into with King Charles of France, with the consent of the estates of the realm of Scotland, and confirmed by the apostolic see; and that it has been renewed by all the kings, both of France and of Scotland, on the death of a king; and it stands as an imperishable bond of love for ever. The king of Scotland who first entered into this alliance with King Charlemagne in the year of grace 687 [28] was called Achay; and it has lasted unbroken and unshaken to the present time of the writing of this little work, to wit, the year of our Lord 1489.[29] Because of this, therefore, was help denied the said King Edward against the king of France.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Certain incidents.

THE same year, a little earlier, the earl of Fife, by name Macduff,[30] was murdered; and the murderers of the earl, with the view of depriving his brother of his fraternal inheritance of

Kilconquhar, had him summoned on this ground before the king of Scotland in his parliament, and sued him. As, however, it seemed to the other party that the king showed more favour to his opponents, the said earl's murderers, who were called Abernethy, than to him, he appealed to the tribunal of the king of England, as being the paramount tribunal; and, in prosecuting the aforesaid appeal, contrived to get King John summoned before the parliament of the king of England in London. When, therefore, King John appeared there, and would have answered before the king of England by his procurators, the king of England would not let the king of Scotland answer thus by his procurators until he, King John, had first answered in person before him as he sat [31] on the bench; and afterwards he might, on asking leave, hand over the prosecution of his cause to his aforesaid procurators. So King John, to fulfil the commands of the king of England, stood on his trial before him, and suffered much contumely and contempt and countless affronts. At length, handing over his cause to his procurators, and taking his leave, he went home again utterly disgraced, and was received by the magnates and lords of the realm with such reverence as was meet. Soon after his arrival in the country, however, he called the chief men together and held a parliament; and, openly setting forth before all of them all the wrongs, affronts and contumely heaped upon him by the said king of England, he publicly requested their opinion how to set the matter right, and promised to give effect to it by all means in his power. At length it was settled there in parliament that King John should altogether recall the homage tendered and fealty promised by him to the king of England, and should thenceforth refuse to perform them, as having been extorted from him by force and intimidation; and that he would no longer obey him or his commands on these and other points touching the vassalage or independence of the kingdom. Meanwhile, upon war breaking out between this king of the English and the Welsh, on the one hand, and the king of France, on the other, this Edward king of England wrote to the aforesaid John king of Scotland to lend him assistance against them; but this was briefly altogether refused him, and the king of England was therefore very wroth, and loudly vowed revenge. In the meantime the chief men of the kingdom of Scotland sent over in all haste ambassadors to the king of France, namely the bishop of Saint Andrews and the bishop of Dunkeld, together with two knights, the lord Soulis [32] and Ingram Humfraville, to arrange a marriage between a niece of that king of France and Edward Balliol, son of the said king

of Scotland, and also to renew the already existing alliance; and they were to explain to him in set terms the affair with the king of England. These ambassadors were received with pleasure, and sent on their way rejoicing, and returned with gladness to their own country.

CHAPTER XIX.

Terms of the alliance between the kings of France and Scotland.

Philip, by the grace of God king of the French, to all who shall look on these presents. Among all those things whereby the aggrandisement of rulers and kingdoms is brought about, the delights of peace and tranquil quiet are gained and the happiness and prosperity of the subject are consulted, this seems, on attentive consideration, to be the chief, that a firmly cemented and loving union and a faithful and friendly alliance be nourished between kings and kingdoms, so that kings and princes may, when the case demands, evince one towards another, especially through zeal for justice, a feeling of friendly affection in repelling the outrages and insolence of the froward and in beating back hostile attacks; that each willingly help the other in weal, and not fail him in woe: so that, by means at least of a timely protection, the outrageous assaults of the haters of peace be wholesomely repressed and the sweetness of welcome peace be brought forth,—in the beauty whereof the devout sons of peace may the more devoutly, because the more calmly, serve the Author of peace. Accordingly, the renowned prince John, the illustrious king of Scots, Our particular friend, having regard to the aforesaid benefits and advantages, has sent unto Us the venerable fathers William bishop of Saint Andrews and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, and John de Soulis and Ingram de Humfraville, as his ambassadors and procurators, specially appointed therefor, as is more fully contained in certain letters procuratory drawn up thereanent and sealed with the said king's seal, to arrange a treaty of alliance and friendship. So We with hearty good-will concur in the said king's praiseworthy wishes on this point; and, in order that the closeness of the alliance and the bond of fruitful friendship may flourish the more vigorously and last the more steadfastly the more strongly the link is forged, it is covenanted and agreed between Us, with the assent and concurrence of our very dear and faithful brother Charles count of Valois and Anjou, and the aforesaid procurators, as procurators on behalf of the aforesaid

king, that a marriage be arranged between Edward, the said king's eldest son and the future king of Scotland, and the daughter of our aforesaid brother; and we promise to give the said king of Scotland, in his said son's name, as a marriage portion with the aforesaid daughter, twenty-five thousand livres Tournois in ready money; and the said John king of Scotland aforesaid shall be bound to give and allot fifteen hundred pounds sterling of yearly rent as a dower or portion on account of the said marriage, which shall be a charge on the following places, namely, Ballieul, Dampierre, Olincourt and Hornoy in the kingdom of France, and Lanark, Cadeouch, Conynghame, Haddington and Doune Castle in the kingdom of Scotland, with the pertinents of the said places, together with all manner of judicial rights and jurisdictions not connected with the crown.[33]

CHAPTER XX.

The treaty continued.—Terms of the principal clause, as inserted in the royal letter.

This king, moreover, like a righteous prince, as well from his zeal for justice as from the warmth of the affection which he is confidently known to bear towards Us and the people of Our kingdom, taking in ill part the grievous wrongs, extraordinary outrages, hostile attacks, and iniquitous agressions which the king of England, breaking the due of fealty whereto he was bound unto Us, is known to have in many and sundry ways hitherto inflicted, and is ever striving and endeavouring to inflict, upon Us and Our faithful subjects, and being prepared, with disinterested friendliness, to give us effectual and powerful help towards the wholesome repression of these outrages and the opposing of these attacks, so that a feeling of mutual love may bind Us and Our successors the more closely to him and his, has confided to the said procurators, and the procurators themselves have, in the king's name and on his behalf, expressly promised Us, that the said king of Scotland will, in the present war, fight against the said king of England, his abettors and allies, the king of Germany as well as any others whatever, if need be, and will publicly and openly help Us and Our successors, if the war be prolonged to their time, with his forces and those of his kingdom both by land and sea, and will give Us timely advice and assistance. And, as the outrageous undertakings of the aforesaid king of England may the more easily be foiled, and the said king may the more quickly be forced to retreat

from his froward hostile inroads the more he is occupied elsewhere, the said king of Scotland will make it his business to levy and carry on war against the king of England at his own charges and expense, with his whole force and that also of the people of his kingdom, as often as it shall be convenient; while We carry on and keep up the war he has begun.[34] Moreover, the aforesaid procurators, as procurators on behalf of the said king of Scotland, promised that as well the prelates, so far as they are called upon by law so to do, as also the earls, barons and town communities of the kingdom of Scotland, shall equally, in the aforesaid war, bear themselves towards Us and Our successors, in such manner in every respect as stated above; and they shall likewise make war upon the king of England with all their forces, as described above. To insure this, therefore, the prelates, earls, barons and other nobles, as well as the whole of the foremost communities[35] of the said kingdom, shall, as soon as may be, send Us their letters-patent on the subject, sealed with their seals. It was moreover agreed between Us and the aforesaid procurators on the same behalf, that, if it should haply come to pass that the before-mentioned king of England should assemble his forces and invade the kingdom of Scotland, personally or through another, after such war has been begun by the said king of Scotland at Our request, or after the close alliance now entered into between Us and the said king and people of Scotland, under such circumstances, provided We are forewarned of it in proper time by the said king,[36] We should help him by keeping the said king of England employed elsewhere, so that he might be diverted from the aforesaid invasion he shall have undertaken, or by sending the said king of Scotland adequate reinforcements, at Our expense until they reach Scotland. Again, if perchance the king of England personally should leave the territory of England, or should perchance, during a war between Ourselves and him, drain the said country of a considerable number of armed infantry, the aforesaid procurators, as procurators on the said behalf, have promised that, especially in such a case, the said king of Scotland should not fail to penetrate into the land of England as widely and as far as he can, with his whole forces, and make war and do battle in the field, besieging, devastating and fighting against the king of England and his territory in all the aforesaid ways in his power, and at his expense, as already said. Furthermore, it is settled and expressly covenanted between Us and the aforesaid procurators, on the said behalf, that We shall not come to terms, nor do we intend to do so, in a war which the aforesaid king of Scotland and his successors shall wage on Our behalf

against the aforesaid king of England, after they shall have made such war at Our request; or, in case the king of Scotland shall have already made such war, on account of the tie and alliance entered into, or the king of England against him, on account of the foregoing, neither in such a war shall we do so, or make peace or a truce with the aforesaid king, unless they are included in the said truce or treaty of peace; nor, in like manner, shall they be empowered to do so without Us, in all such wars as above described. For all and sundry which above-stated points to be kept firmly and faithfully fulfilled and inviolably observed We pledge Ourselves, for Ourselves and Our successors, to the said king of Scotland and his successors, and Our heirs and successors, and all Our and their property, movable and immovable, present and future, wherever and in whatever place it may be. And it is for the said king of Scotland to ratify and approve the treaties, covenants and agreements and all and sundry the above writings; and he shall take care to send Us his letters-patent, sealed with his great seal, as soon as he can, upon the ratification, approval and renewal of the above.

CHAPTER XXI.

King John withdraws the homage foolishly done by him to the king of England, contrary to the privileges of the crown.

In the year 1296 [37] the unhappy King John, by the advice of some of his adherents, marshalled and sent all the nobles and freeholders as well as the rest of the valiant men of the earldom of Fife, which was then without a head and bereft of a ruler, to garrison and defend the town of Berwick, where the danger was the most threatening at the time; and there a strong fleet of the king of England arrived, laden with a great multitude of men-at-arms, who delivered a grand assault from the sea. The garrison of the town, however, who were stout fighters, stalwart and strong and of fierce courage, by main force drove back their assailants, and eighteen ships laden with men-at-arms; and these they burnt with fire, after having slain all on board. But, in the following year after this, the king of England, who was strongly irritated by the aforesaid and other causes, marched in person, with a large force of men-at-arms, to the said town of Berwick; and although he could not take the town by force, yet he cast about to circumvent it by stratagem. So, after he had encamped round the town and lingered there a while, he pretended he was going to withdraw thence altogether, struck

his tents, and made a feint of going on. But on the 29th of March, at dawn of day, hoisting in a wood near the town the cunningly imitated and counterfeited banners and other standards of the Scottish nation, he approached the gates of the town and sent messengers to those who were in the town announcing that reinforcements were coming from the king. When the Scots saw this, they were glad, being, so to speak, simple-minded and free from guile; so, seeing their true-seeming ensigns and tokens, and not dreaming of trickery, they opened their gates before them, and all who would came in. But alas! when, soon, they found out the trick and became aware of the truth and strove to withstand them, they were at once overwhelmed by a multitude of foes and perished in sudden onslaughts and charges. Then the king of England directed that neither age nor sex should be spared, and they all without exception were put to the sword. So long indeed did the slaughter last in that most woful disaster, that streams of blood from the gore of the slain poured out and flowed for some days through the streets and squares of the town. The number of the bodies of the slain was seven thousand five hundred, in addition to others not found. The most powerful nobles of Fife utterly perished there.

CHAPTER XXII.

The whole of the beneficed English ousted from the kingdom of Scotland by Fresale bishop of Saint Andrews.

The same year, owing to most unmistakable proofs of plotting against the kingdom, or the king, or the state, as well as on suspicion, all the beneficed persons of English birth were expelled from the kingdom of Scotland and wholly deprived of their benefices by William Fresale, bishop of Saint Andrews, and his vicars in spiritualities; and moreover all of that nationality, both clergy and laymen, of whatever condition in life, were, without exception, cast out of the kingdom. Nor is it to be borne that enemies should be allowed to nestle in the bosom of friends; and, even though the pope should suffer this, the king ought not to allow it, to nurse fire in his bosom. Be it observed that, according to the chronicles, the bishop of Dunblane has a just title to the domains of Appleby, of Congeres, of Troclingham and of Malemath, by a grant from the lord thereof, whose son Saint Blane raised from the dead. Observe also that the town of Berwick was given to the monastery of

Durham, and King Edgar king of Scotland, son of Saint Margaret, took it back for the crime of high treason, and forfeited it and appropriated it again to the crown, because of the unworthiness of the bishop of this place, Ranulph by name. Now William Wallace was the man who carried into execution the sentence of the church against the deprived English, and he expelled them altogether from the country by force. Saint Gely Grange also and Spitalton were a domain of the monks of Holme; but, on the ground likewise of high treason, King David, son of Saint Margaret, deprived the said monks of those lands for plotting against the king's majesty. Other confiscated lands,[38] moreover, confiscated for the same reason, he gave to the lord of Riccarton, who still possesses them. On similar grounds also of ingratitude and the crime of high treason, the priory of Coldingham, which previously belonged to the monastery of Durham, was bestowed upon Dunfermline Abbey by King Robert, as could be most fully proved by proofs prepared thereanent and shown to the said monastery. The king was prompted thereto chiefly by a prior of English birth, named Claxston, having revealed certain royal secrets of the most secret council of the realm to the council of the king of England, in violation of the oath he had taken; together with many other most infamous acts which prompted the king thereto, such as the bringing base coin, both gold and silver, into the country, in contravention of the royal edict of the parliament of Scotland. Drax and Hakles, too, monks of Durham, who thrust themselves into the said priory, were afterwards, for similar reasons, expelled by kings and governors of Scotland. But after these things, on hearing of the taking of Berwick, the Scots who were marshalled by King John for the rescue of the said town encountered the English, on the 27th of April, at Dunbar, near a place called Spot; and here fell many nobles of Scotland. Those, however, who escaped from the battle after it was decided, hoping for succour and fleeing with the hope of saving their lives, though they were gladly welcomed, to the number of seventy knights with the nobles in their train, among whom were the earl of Ross, Patrick Graham [39] and the earl of Menteith, yet an infamous traitor treacherously gave them over to the king of England, like harmless sheep led to the slaughter. His name was Richard de Suard, the warden of the said castle of Dunbar. Therefore no one need wonder that the said castle and domain are confiscated in the king's hands, for many evils have been wrought by this castle.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Robert Bruce and Balliol—Their partisans—Disunion in the country.

In the words of Christ in the Gospel it is said that every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation ; and we see most clearly and truly that this took place in the kingdom of Scotland in these days. For there sided with sir Robert Bruce, in every way they could, the prelates of the realm, the nobles, and especially the bishop of Glasgow and his friends, together with the earls of Athol and of Mar ; while the earl of Buchan, with his followers the Comyngs, of which surname there were many nobles in those days, sided with John Balliol. These parties and their partisans, with their followers, waged a deadly war against one another ; whence the poor people of the kingdom of Scotland suffered much, and were, by reason of this strife, devoured and ravaged by "the fangs of maddened wolves." But after the victory gained in the battle of Spot near Dunbar, as already stated, the elder Robert Bruce went up to the king of England, and besought him not to fail him, but to help him, as he had promised, in getting the kingdom of Scotland ; but that old serpent, that consummate framer of treachery and deceit, with no little indignation and with a savage countenance, answered him in French on this wise, "*Non avons nous autre chose à faire que à vous reaume gargnier ?*" that is to say : "Have We nothing to do but to win a kingdom for thee ?" So the said Robert, hearing this, and turning over in his mind the craftiness of the adroit answer, without further remark departed from the king to his own place, namely his lands in England, and never afterwards showed himself in Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The castles of Scotland taken by King Edward—John Balliol taken.

The tyrant King Edward, then, marching on after the battle of Dunbar, and having taken that same castle of Dunbar, came to Edinburgh, and the castle was in like manner surrendered into his hands, as also the castle of Stirling ; and thence the king marched on after John Balliol as far as the castle of Forfar, and was met by John Cumyn, lord of Strathbolgy, who made his submission to him and brought back John

Balliol and his son from Aberdeen to Munross (Montrose) to meet him. Here, at Munross castle, the said John Balliol, stripped of his royal robes and holding a white wand in his hand, having been craftily won over to the king of England by the said John by force and intimidation, unconditionally resigned into the hands of the said king of England all right and claim he himself had or in any wise might have to the throne of Scotland, and made it over by his letters-patent, which he produced, signed with his seal; the terms whereof are in form and effect as follows :—

John, by the grace of God king of Scots, to all who shall look on these presents, Greeting. As We, lately enticed and foolishly and deceitfully tricked by the promptings of certain froward persons and by Our corrupt advisers, have grievously offended, and have of our own motion provoked and stirred to anger Our renowned prince and lord, the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, etc., in various ways, and especially, among other things, because We, while abiding in fealty and homage and security with him, refusing to live in mere plenty and moderation, or rather not knowing how to persevere to the end, have unadvisedly entered into the yoke of mutual ties and a treaty and bond of alliance with the king of France, and have, as a further proof of this alliance, sought the daughter of the lord Charles, his brother, in marriage for Our son Edward, the heir to the throne of Scotland, thus joining the chiefest foe of Our said king of England, to his no slight injury and grievance, and, to the hurt and detriment of his royal majesty, violently assailing him and his, to the best of Our power, by destroying his lands, plundering his people and subjects, and by the fell inroads of war; and, passing over the rest, these crooked intrigues of Ours have prevailed to such an extent, and so blinded the fierceness of Our spirit, that, throwing off with unbridled license faith, fealty and allegiance to Our said lord, and wholly and altogether refusing and scorning them, without mentioning[40] the extortions of evildoers and the plundering ravages of war, We have unpardonably placed Our men and the subjects of Our land in the castles, towns, fortresses and boroughs freely belonging, or which ought duly to belong, in fee to Our said lord by right, within the territory of Scotland, in order to break down Our said lord's interests, liberties and feudal authority; so Our mischievous acts have got their deserts, and have wantonly roused Our said lord's most bitter wrath and indignation, so that Our said lord has with a strong hand and with a mighty arm made a hostile advance into the territory of Scotland with a force of men-at-arms, and has fought

against it with his utmost might; and he has brought it back under his sway and dominion, Our forces and power being of no avail whatever to withstand this; We therefore, longing to repair this mischief to his satisfaction, voluntarily restore and gratuitously resign to Our said lord, purely of Our own free will and with free and full control, the whole aforesaid land of Scotland, and all and sundry its folk, people and inhabitants, together with the homage and allegiance of the whole. In witness whereof We have caused these presents to be drawn up at Munros, on the 10th day of July, in the year of Our Lord 1296, and the fourth of Our reign.

CHAPTER XXV.

The magnates and the Estates of Scotland are forced likewise to do homage to the king of England.

After this the king of England had the said John Balliol, together with his son the said Edward, brought to London, and he kept them imprisoned there for a while. Afterwards, however, still keeping the son, he released the father, who took an oath never to claim a right to the throne of the kingdom of Scotland; and his lands of Ballieul only were restored to him, and he ended his days in France. His son Edward was allowed to enjoy his patrimony in France, under the same oath duly administered to him; and he remained there after his father's death until his preparations for the campaign which he opened at Duplin. But Edward king of England, after the invalid resignation of the throne of Scotland, moved to Berwick, where he had all the lords and prelates of Scotland summoned before him. These for the most part came thither and did him homage, such as it was, after their wont, though compelled by force and intimidation, and surrendered unto him the castles and chief strongholds of the kingdom. He, however, did not change the captains or the other officers of justice; but, having administered an oath to them, he put each one of them in the position he had held. Nevertheless, the captains of the chief strongholds he did change, and he commissioned other wardens in their stead, and appointed treasurers and other receivers of rents.[41] Thereupon, believing himself to be pretty sure of the humble obedience of the Scots, he set about making war upon the king of the French. But, straightway after his departure from England to France, all the magnates of Scotland, as well as other Scots of the English party, were gathered together at

Scone, and opened their parliament there. Here they appointed twelve wardens of the kingdom of Scotland, or peers of the realm, for the guardianship and protection of the realm and the defence of its liberty; and, in order that such appointment might be the more stable and strong, they all with one accord were sworn together by the great oath to extend favour, advice and help one to another. Then they repair the ruined castles and put captains and wardens in the strongest and securest places, and set about in every possible way bravely to withstand King Edward's villainous cruelty and meet his violent attacks and encroachments. One of the chief wardens, moreover, John Cumyn earl of Buchan, was chosen leader and, marching into England with a large army, wasted the northern districts of England with fire and sword, burnt two monasteries, and besieged Carlisle; but he retreated without accomplishing his purpose. In that year indeed, in 1297, the aforesaid Edward came back to England from France without having accomplished his purpose; for he was then unwilling to give battle to the king of France, for there was an arrangement between them, and their troth was plighted, for a marriage between Edward king of England and Margaret sister of King Philip. So he assembled a strong army to make war upon the nobles of Scotland to the best of his power, as well by stratagem and craft as by main force.

CHAPTER XXV.

William Wallace.

The same year that renowned champion William Wallace, the terror of the English, the son of a noble knight of the same name, rose in Scotland. He was very tall of stature, of great bodily strength, pleasant and merry of countenance, of kindly seeming to all his friends but terrible to his foes, bounteous in gifts, most righteous in judgment. Being a true Scot, he loathed the English nation and their ways; and, at the outset of his rebellion against the English nation, he slew the sheriff of Lanark and many others with him. From that time there were gathered unto him all who were bitter in spirit and weighed down by the burden of most wretched thraldom under the unbearable domination of the English nation. He became their leader and one of the wardens of Scotland; for he was a man of wonderful courage and daring, of knightly origin. His brother, sir Andrew Wallace, was girded with the belt of knighthood, and was a very distinguished and gallant knight; and his patrimony is still in

the possession of his descendants.[42] He himself, however, overthrew the English on all sides and was always successful against them, so that by force and by dint of his prowess he in a short time brought all the magnates of Scotland under his control, whether they would or no; and, when all had thus been gained over, he held out manfully, and devoted himself with all his might to storming the stronger castles and bringing under the sway and dominion of the Scots the strongholds where the English were in power; for his aim was ever skilfully to overthrow and undo the English, always sagaciously casting about to compass by tact and cunning all he was unable to achieve by force and the strong hand. In all his doings, and in the carrying out of every undertaking, he would exhort his comrades always to have the cause of the freedom of Scotland before their eyes in battle, and to charge in its name. He also told them off by fives, appointing one to have command and maintain discipline over four under him, and another over ten, and so with each of them; and he gave instructions that whoever would not obey his superiors in the ordering of the battle should be summarily put to death; and so on up to twenty-five and fifty and a hundred in their several ranks,[43] according to the advice given to Moses by his kinsman Jethro, both in the administration of justice and in the ordering of the battle. Would that our princes now-a-days would take care to adhere to such an arrangement in matters of justice and war, for it is well known to be of the highest importance to a general in war, or to a king or governor of a kingdom,—from a hundred to five hundred, from five hundred to a thousand, to ten thousand and a hundred thousand. For thus said Jethro to Moses, who used to sit from morning till night hearing causes in all matters: "O fool, thou wilt wear thyself out with over many cares, for thou art not able to master everything. Choose therefore out of the whole nation able men, who fear God, hate covetousness, and in whom is truth, and from among them appoint commanders of five hundred, commanders of hundreds and commanders of tens, to judge the people at all seasons; and, if anything is too great for them, let it be brought before thee." And thus he himself became the general and the leader of men.

CHAPTER XXVII.

He destroys Northumberland—Other events.

At length the renown of William Wallace's name was so spread about, that the noise of the damage done by him to the

natives of England reached the ears of the king of England, who sent into Scotland a large force of men-at-arms, with his treasurer Hugh Cressingham, to curb the daring of this William Wallace. On hearing this, William Wallace, who was then engaged on the siege of Dundee Castle, intrusted it to the burgesses and, mustering his forces, set himself without much ado to oppose the aforesaid treasurer with all haste. He accordingly engaged him at Stirling bridge on the 11th of September 1297, and made great havoc among his train. Sir Hugh was killed there, and the remnant of his army who escaped were put to flight, and returned to England, many being drowned in their flight. So the said William happily gained the victory; and here the noble Andrew Murray fell by the sword,[44] with a few others of Scottish birth. After this, however, William Wallace returned to the siege of Dundee Castle, and brought that place under his sway; and, finding there much treasure of the king of England, he generously distributed it among his companions in arms.[45] Thereupon so great fear and trembling fell upon the enemy, that some of the wardens of castles left their castles and fled from the fortified places, while others, after sacking the castle, demolished the strongest towers and withdrew to their own country. Now from lack of grain there was a great dearth before the autumn, on account of which the general gave orders that the army should make its way into England and live there at the expense of the enemy, so as to save their own provisions and keep them for the winter. The aforesaid William Wallace likewise appointed that a gallows should be set up in every domain, so that all under orders to fight, if absent or flying from battle at a critical time without leave or reasonable cause, might be hanged thereon without mercy. When these matters had thus been settled and completed, he made his way towards England, and overran and ravaged the whole of Northumberland as far as Newcastle; and thus he wintered in England at the expense of the enemy, and saved his country's substance; and he got home again safely with much riches and honour. On hearing this, the king of England was enraged and his wrath was kindled, and he was beside himself with over much grief; so he put off making war against the king of France, as he had previously intended, and set about invading the kingdom of Scotland with all his forces. Accordingly he retired from Gaul and, having addressed a threatening letter to William Wallace, assembled a large army. But William Wallace, on the other hand, gathered together the Scottish lords and their followers, and pushed on into England; and he ceased not to attack and destroy the enemy's country

until he came to Stanmure. The king of England likewise arrived at this place, and saw William Wallace, the Scottish leader, with such a host of men-at-arms in admirable order of battle there manfully awaiting him that, thinking perchance his cause was not a righteous one, or that the territory was not his own property, or otherwise having a presentiment of evil, he turned aside from the straight path to the battle nobly and proudly arrayed against him, shifted his ground by the advice of certain lovers of peace, and abandoned his undertaking. When the noble champions of Scotland saw this, by the help of God's grace and St. Andrew and St. Cuthbert, they glorified God, and asked their leader's instructions about routing them in the rear; but with steadfast mind he answered and said unto them, "By no means, my lords and brethren; for it is the most brilliant victory in the annals of the struggles of war that the most high and mighty king of England should, on ground he said was his, amid his stately army drawn up to his mind, with his satraps, and with his royal and most excellent equipments of war, have been panic-stricken and turned and fled before Scottish countrymen, foes he scorns and holds cheap, while his foes never even drew the sword." The English, however, on the other hand, say that the king was not there in person, but another resembling him, clad like him in a coat of mail: and thus they try to shield the king, though the opposite is the truth. But after this, the envy of the devil, by whom death came into the world, and who has a spite against a good reputation and is the foe of human happiness, was hard at work against the good luck and prosperity of the said warden William, through no fault or deserving of his, but by means of the magnates of the realm, among whom it had been lurking as yet undisplayed; and this greatest of evils is constantly and inextinguishably at work in Scotland to this very day. Nevertheless, during the time of this warden's rule, the kingdom of Scotland prospered wonderfully in happiness and in manifold ways; and every one dwelt in safety with his own, and agriculture began to thrive everywhere. In spite, however, of all his good deeds and deserts in the interests of the state and the independence of the crown, certain sons of wickedness and imps of the devil conspired and devised mischief against him, framing lies and backbiting him behind his back while speaking him fair to his face, and meditating treachery, saying within their hearts, We will not have this man reign over us. But the lower orders and the populace were exceedingly fond of him, as were also a good many of the older and wiser of the great men of the kingdom. For God of his lovingkindness sent this leader to snatch them from the

snare of the fowler; and, whereas the whole of Scotland was unable at that time to defend herself, he, supported by the help of God and aided by the assistance of Saint Andrew and Saint Cuthbert, did his best to free her from the chain of perpetual slavery and strove to exalt her with uplifted arm. So the death of the guileless lamb was devised by those envious haters of the happiness of mankind; and hard upon his death there followed struggles, the shipwreck of the clergy of Scotland, the ruin of the people, the downfall of the kingdom and the destruction of the state.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Battle of Varia Capella or Falkirk.

In the year 1298 the king of England, taking in ill part the wrongs inflicted upon him by the Scots, for he suffered loss and was hard pressed on all sides, assembled a very large army and made a hostile invasion of Scotland, bringing with him also some nobles of Scotland to help him. Now the king of England never did anything without deceit; so he secretly gained over certain magnates of the kingdom of Scotland who had a lurking grudge against the said William Wallace, and, when they encountered one another at Falkirk, the greater part of those on whom the warden William Wallace relied the most turned and fled. Here many of the nobles and the populace of the kingdom were slain, and the said warden himself escaped with but few; and he nearly went out of his mind thereat, wishing rather to throw away his life with honour than to live most wretchedly in bondage and slavery under his foes. And thus a severe battle was fought at the said place, Falkirk, on the 22d of July, and lost through the spite of that wicked family called the Cummyns, and other traitors to the state, their hangers-on, who left the field unhurt and retreated in a body, because they bore so much causeless ill-will towards the said William Wallace. So, as soon as he had perceived and was aware of their trick, the said William likewise escaped on the other side of the field and saved himself, seeing nothing else for it as matters stood. But Robert Bruce, the future king, followed William Wallace and took him to task, saying, as some relate, and asking who ordered or advised him to make such an attempt and so foolhardily struggle against the greatness and high-mightiness of the king of England, yea, and of the greater part of the kingdom of Scotland? But the said William answered him saying, "O, Robert, Robert, thy slothfulness and effeminate, sluggish idleness, and the establish-

ing of thy right, on the one hand, and the nobleness of the most noble kingdom of Scotland, which is ready to perish, on the other, spur me on to this; but thou also, now but half a man, do thou awake from thy bed unto manhood, come forth from the shade into the open, and quit thee manfully, and let thy heart be strong; give up the delicate and soft and delicious life thou art used to, and make haste to inure thyself to a rough life of warfare, to free thy kingdom." At these words Robert Bruce, roused, as it were, from a heavy sleep, so pondered and digested the force of his words, that after fleeing from imminent peril and betaking himself to safer paths, he felt encouraged; and, laying up all these words in his heart, he set himself to taste the bitter draught of warfare;[46] and, as

"No low pursuits should taint the lofty soul,"

he thenceforth kept himself from all unmanly and contemptible pursuits, aiming at higher things, and elevating his spirit in every respect. Moreover he set himself and his friends and partisans the task of freeing the country from the enemy, with a tireless zeal that would not be denied, and such as drives away disaster from a country, sheltering himself in the mountains and hills and the hidden coverts of woods and rocks, with sorry food and rough raiment. The death, however, of John Stewart and Macduff earl of Fife and their followers in the battle grieved the king greatly, for it was through foul play, ill-will and quarrels of the people of his own kingdom, and never otherwise, that disaster was wont to overtake us in battle. After this, William Wallace of his own accord and by his free wish ceased to be warden of Scotland, and John Cummyn began to be warden in his stead.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Truce granted by Edward king of England to the kingdom of Scotland at the instance of the king of France.

In these days Philip king of France sent Peter de Monsy and John de Barris to the king of England, to get a truce for the kingdom of Scotland; and it was granted for half a year only. The kingdom of England, however, at this time used to pay a tithe assessed upon the kingdom as a subsidy against the Scots; and the king of England, before granting the truce, intimated to the ambassadors of the king of France and made them confess that he was not granting the truce by way of an

alliance; for, notwithstanding the granting of the said truce, he wished to levy the tax of church tithes which he wished to levy before in order to make war against the Scots. But the wardens of Scotland, hearing that the king of England, in levying a tithe on the clergy of his kingdom, aimed at wholly subverting the kingdom of Scotland and bringing it under his sway, straightway despatched certain prominent clerics, namely master William archdeacon of Lothian, master Baldred Bisset and William Eglishame as procurators and special envoys to Boniface VIII., then supreme pontiff, to inform that lord pontiff and lay before him the grievous wrongs and annoyances and villainous outrages inflicted and about to be inflicted on the kingdom of Scotland by that king of England, and to humbly beseech his Holiness that a fitting remedy might be provided by him: as will more fully appear hereafter. These men, therefore, kept themselves quiet, and forearmed themselves with the bulwark of their own powers and with reasons, points of law and allegations on the subject, still waiting even until they should be placed under restraint or close confinement by the said king's tyranny, as they thought. In the year 1304 many Scottish nobles and prelates, such as William Oliphant, knight, warden of Stirling Castle while it was in the hands of the Scots, which place the king of England had formerly taken after a long siege and had straightway come and occupied in defiance of his plighted word—observe that Edward Longshanks, father of this tyrant Edward now living,[47] came and shamefully, in defiance of his plighted word, took the castle of Stirling after he had long besieged it—and some bishops, namely those of Glasgow and Sodor, as also some others, laymen and clergy, were arrested and ruthlessly sent and committed to prison by the said tyrant. Accordingly when this reached the ears of the pope by way of complaint, the supreme pontiff conferred with the cardinals and addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury his bulls executory against the aforesaid tyrant of England, and sent them to England by the aforesaid procurators,[48] in the following terms.

CHAPTER XXX.

Copy of the papal bull.

Bishop Boniface, etc., to his venerable brother the archbishop of Canterbury, Greeting and his apostolic blessing. The repeated statements forced upon Our notice by trustworthy

persons, as also the substance of reports going about, have made known to Our ears the outrages, hardships, troubles, losses and misfortunes sought to be inflicted by Our son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, and by his officers and people upon the king of Scotland and the prelates and clergy and ecclesiastics, religious and secular, as also the churches, monasteries and other religious places, together with the inmates thereof and the inhabitants of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland and their property. We, therefore, being unwilling, as neither ought We, to pretend to take no notice of such things, most earnestly exhort that king, by another letter of Ours which thou wilt present to him, to have those clergy and ecclesiastics of the said kingdom of Scotland, whom he is said to be still keeping in confinement, restored to liberty as before, and also to recall the officers whom he is stated to have placed in the said kingdom; and that he also do send his procurators and ambassadors to appear before Us with all his pleas in law and title deeds, if he think he has any right to the aforesaid kingdom or to any part thereof. And nevertheless any suits, disputes or questions which have arisen, and which may in future, from any of the above causes, arise, between that king and the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland and the prelates, clergy and laymen of that kingdom, and the whole matter We do, by Our aforesaid letter, bring and reserve for trial and determination by the apostolic see; and if any one should happen, knowingly or unknowingly, to attempt any different action in this respect, We pronounce it void and of none effect. Wherefore We do, by Our apostolic writ, strictly direct and command thee, Our brother, in virtue of thy holy allegiance and on pain of suspension from spiritual and temporal ministration, to present Our aforesaid letter to the said king without delay, and effectually encourage and lead him to acquiesce in what We write in our exhortation; and to contrive faithfully and effectually to let Us know, by thy letters-patent containing these particulars, the day on which thou shalt have laid this Our letter before him, and whatever else thou shalt have done, and what he shall have answered or done in this matter. Given at Avignon, the 28th of June, the fifth of Our pontificate.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Copy of the pope's letter sent to the king of England.

Bishop Boniface, servant of the servants of God, to his very dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, Greeting

and his apostolic blessing. We know, son, for the teachings of experience over a long space of time have taught Us, how your reverent zeal had displayed your royal feelings of devotion towards the mother church of Rome, which bears you in the bowels of charity, and that you readily acquiesce in her good pleasure and comply with the wishes of the see thereof. Wherefore we cherish a firm hope and are in the full belief that your Royal Highness will take Our words kindly, take care to understand them and carry them out with good will. It may indeed have reached your Royal Highness, and We have not the least doubt it is contained in the tablets of your memory, that from old time the kingdom of Scotland has belonged in full right, and is still well known to belong, to the aforesaid church of Rome, and that, as we have been given to understand, it is not a fief of your ancestors,[49] the kings of the kingdom of England, or of yours; also that your father Henry king of England, of illustrious memory, at the time of the troubles of his war stirred up between him and a certain Simon de Montfort and his partisans and accomplices, asked Alexander, of treasured memory, king of that same Scotland and son-in-law of the said Henry, to afford him assistance; and, lest such assistance might be said to have been asked or rendered in right of any vassalage or duty, the aforesaid Henry thought good to grant the said king of Scotland his letters-patent, whereby he unhesitatingly acknowledged that he had received or would receive the aforesaid help only as a particular favour. Furthermore when, in course of time, you would fain have had the aforesaid king of Scotland, your sister's husband, then living, be present at the ceremony of your coronation, you took care to pledge yourself by your letters-patent that you proposed to have him present at that ceremony not as a duty, but only as a favour. And, when that king presented himself personally before you to swear you the customary fealty for the lands of Tyndale and Penrith, situated in the kingdom of England, that king, in tendering such fealty publicly, in the presence of many, declared by word of mouth that he was swearing the said fealty only for those lands situated in England, not as king of Scotland, nor for the kingdom of Scotland. Nay, he had openly protested that he ought not in any way to tender or swear fealty to you for that kingdom, as being in no wise whatever subject unto you; and you admitted this manner of fealty. It has, moreover, probably escaped your memory that, when that king of Scotland was taken away from our midst, leaving as his heiress the late maid Margaret, your niece, then under age, the guardianship of that kingdom did not come to

you as lord, but certain lords of that kingdom were elected to the guardianship of the same; and afterwards, when the dispensation of the apostolic see, for arranging a marriage between Our beloved son Edward, your child, and the aforesaid Margaret while she was living, had been asked and obtained if the consent of the lords of the said kingdom were got and given thereunto, you are known to have pledged yourself to those lords in writing, before they would consent to such a marriage, that the said kingdom should ever remain altogether free, and subject to, or in any wise under, no one; and that it should be quite restored to its former condition or the like, if it should happen that no children were left of the marriage about to be arranged; and that they should retain the same name and position as before, in keeping their own laws for themselves and appointing the officers of the said kingdom, as well as in holding parliaments and dealing with causes therein,[50] and in no inhabitants of that kingdom being summoned for trial beyond its limits: all which is well known to be more fully contained in your letters-patent drawn up thereanent. Moreover, when the aforesaid Margaret was snatched away from this life, and matter for dispute at length arose between certain parties as to the succession to this throne of Scotland, the lords of this kingdom, fearing that under such circumstances they and the said kingdom might be prejudiced, would not come into your presence outside the limits of that kingdom unless you pledged yourself openly in writing that it should not be done as a duty, but as a particular favour, and that no curtailment of the liberties of the said kingdom could be threatened thereby. And even if, as it is said, some innovations, contrary to custom, have been introduced affecting the constitution of the said kingdom of Scotland, or the freedom it formerly enjoyed, while that kingdom lacked the protection of a defender, by the lords of that kingdom then, so to speak, without a head and not having the help of a leader or guide, or by him to whom you are said to have intrusted, though unduly, the government of the aforesaid kingdom; yet these, as having been brought about by force and fear such as may fall upon a steadfast man, and as being unlawful, ought by no means to stand in law, or redound to the prejudice of that kingdom.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The same continued.

We have no manner of doubt, however—nay rather We are sure—that when the paramount authority of the apostolic see by letter intrusts any one with the exercise of the office of legate in the kingdoms of both England and Scotland, or enjoins the payment of a tithe for any cause it deems reasonable, such apostolic letter does not in any way extend to the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland; because the special privilege granted to the Scots by the aforesaid apostolic see stands in the way, as clearly happened in the time of Pope Adrian of happy memory, Our predecessor, then cardinal deacon of Saint Adrian, and at the same time, in virtue of the letter of the said see, legate in those kingdoms, with whom We were then on intimate terms. For that legate was on no account admitted to the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland until the office of legate therein was conferred upon him by a special apostolic letter. Furthermore your Royal Highness may know that the kingdom of Scotland was won and converted to the truth of the catholic faith by the honoured relics of the blessed apostle Andrew, not without a plentiful vouchsafing of protection from on high; and also that, in days of yore, the then archbishop of York raised, in opposition to the prelates of Scotland, the question of metropolitan jurisdiction, in which he mentions that it was said of old, "Remember that we are thy," etc., we pass over in silence what follows thereafter—and was unable, nevertheless, to get a decision in his favour; and though there are many and various arguments which present themselves as reasonable propositions in this matter, whereby moreover We are induced to write to you, let us pass on, lest perchance We weary your overburdened royal mind. Indeed, dearest son, it behoves you to ponder earnestly and diligently give your mind to it within the portals of your breast. Hence no one can doubt that the said kingdom of Scotland belongs in full right to the aforesaid church of Rome; and it is not lawful, nor has it ever been lawful, to subdue it by force and bring it under your sway, to the prejudice of that church and of many persons. Since, however, as trustworthy rumour has already repeatedly dinned even into our ears, and it is published by the voice of anticipating hearsay, you, not giving full weight to the premises, as you ought, nor discussing them with due consideration, vehemently aspire to occupy and subdue to your royal sway that kingdom, for the

time bereft of the help of a king, and at length, putting forth the powers of your might thereunto, have taken and consigned to chains and imprisonment, it is said, Our venerable brothers Bishops Robert of Glasgow and Maurice[51] of Sodor and some clergy and ecclesiastics of that kingdom, some of whom are asserted to have come to a violent end through the filth of their dungeons, and, after having occupied their castles and, as is reported, razed and destroyed a great many monasteries and other religious places, and inflicted other severe losses upon the inhabitants of the said kingdom, have placed in that kingdom your royal officers, who do not shrink from troubling with manifold annoyances and harassing with sundry torments the prelates and other clergy and ecclesiastics and laymen of the said kingdom, to the offending of God's majesty, in contempt of the before-mentioned see, to the grievous impairing of your royal welfare and good name, to the outraging of the law and the exceeding scandal of a great many of the faithful; therefore We beseech your Royal Highness and earnestly exhort you in the Lord and entreat you in Him who is the true salvation of all that you, sensibly giving weight to the fact that it is the duty of the pastoral office which rests upon Our shoulders and that We are bound carefully to preserve the property and rights of the church, and cannot and ought not to defer to man rather than to God, do kindly cause the aforesaid bishops and ecclesiastics, whom your royal prison still shamefully holds in durance, to be restored to liberty as of old, out of reverence for God and the apostolic see and Ourselves, and, removing any difficulties or delays standing in the way, do recall the said officers from the said kingdom of Scotland. And We do hope and wish that you may behave with prompt and effectual zeal in this matter, that you may be not unworthy to be rendered the more acceptable and find the greater favour in the eyes of the heavenly King, who returneth much for the very least, and, besides the commendation of the praise of men which will flow thence for you, you may the more richly earn the grace and favour of the apostolic see. If, however, you believe you have any right to that kingdom of Scotland or any part thereof, We desire that you fail not to send over into Our presence your procurators and ambassadors, specially appointed therefor, with all your titles and documents connected with this matter, within six months to be reckoned from the receipt of these presents; for We are ready fully to do you, as our beloved son, complete justice in the premises, and, moreover, to keep intact any rights you may have. Therefore We do from this time by these presents bring and reserve for trial, judgment and determina-

tion by this see any suits, disputes and controversies which have arisen, or which may, for whatever cause in the past, hereafter arise between you and the said king[52] of Scotland and the prelates and clergy and other ecclesiastics and laymen of that kingdom, as also the whole business connected with, or in any way affecting, the aforesaid points, or any of them; and if anything different should, knowingly or unknowingly, be attempted by any one in this matter, we do pronounce it null and void. Given at Avignon, the 27th of June.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Answer of the barons of England, containing a great falsehood and froward disobedience.

To the most holy father in Christ, etc. The holy Roman church, by whose ministry the catholic faith is governed and ruled, in all its doings, as we firmly believe and hold, proceeds with deliberation, wishing to hurt no one, but to save harmless, as though by a catholic law, the rights of each, not less in others than in herself. Now, when a general parliament was called together by our most serene lord Edward, by the grace of God the illustrious king of England, and held at Lincoln, our said lord caused a certain apostolic letter which he had received[53] from you, upon certain matters touching the condition and constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, to be produced in our midst and publicly read out at length to us all. But when we had heard and diligently mastered it, we perceived that there were contained therein statements astonishing to our minds and as yet unheard of. For we know, most holy father, and it is well known throughout England and not unknown elsewhere, that, from the first establishment of the kingdom of England, in the days of both the British and the English kings thereof, these were the direct overlords of the kingdom of Scotland, and have been in like manner the direct overlords of this kingdom of Scotland in after times. Nor has the said kingdom in any wise in times past belonged, nor does it belong, to the church of Rome by any right; for truly that same kingdom of Scotland has been from of old a fief of the forefathers of our lord the said king of England, and of his; nor also have the kings and kingdom of Scotland been under, or been wont to be in subjection to, any other than the kings of England. And the kings of England, from the paramount independence of their royal rank and dignity and by a custom religiously observed in all

times, have not been amenable, nor ought they to be amenable, to any judge, ecclesiastical or lay, about their rights over the aforesaid kingdom, or other their temporalties. Hence, after having diligently considered and deliberated upon the contents of your before-mentioned letter, it was, is and will steadfastly be the common, concurrent and unanimous agreement of all and sundry that, God willing, our aforesaid lord the king be not in future in any wise amenable to your jurisdiction about his rights over his kingdom of Scotland, or other his temporalties, nor in any way undergo sentence or have his aforesaid rights called in question by you; and that he do not send over his procurators or ambassadors to appear before you on this matter; especially as this would manifestly tend to the abdication of the right to the crown of his kingdom and to the kingly office, as well as to the prejudice of the independence, customs and laws of the realm and to the overthrow of the constitution thereof. To the observance whereof we are bound and held by the obligations of an oath we have taken and firmly and solemnly entered into, and we are bent upon holding to it with all our might. Nor also do we allow,[54] nor moreover shall we allow, even as neither could we lawfully nor ought we to allow so unusual a step. Wherefore we reverently and humbly beseech your Holiness kindly to allow our said lord the king, who is conspicuous among the other princes of the earth for his catholicity and devotion to the church of Rome, to remain in peaceful possession of his rights and his royal independence, customs and laws, without diminution or molestation, and that these may continue unimpaired.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Answer of the king of England to the papal bull.

To the most holy father and lord in Christ, the lord Boniface, by the providence of God supreme pontiff of the holy and universal Roman church, Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine, devoutly kissing his blessed feet. We send the underwritten to be laid before you, not formally or judicially, but altogether extrajudicially, to relieve the mind of your Holiness, my father. The Searcher of hearts in the highest knows that it is indelibly engraved in the tablets of your memory that our ancestors and forefathers the kings of England, in their right as direct overlords, have, from the most remote ages past, had authority over

the kingdom of Scotland and the kings thereof in the temporalities thereof and what is connected with these; and they have received liege homage and oaths of fealty from the said kings and kingdom of Scotland whenever they wished it. We likewise, continuing in the possession of such right and lordship, have received the same in our own time both from the king of Scotland and from the lords of his realm. Indeed, they exercised such a prerogative of right and lordship over the kingdom of Scotland and the kings thereof, that they conferred that kingdom to whomsoever of their lieges they pleased, and for just cause removed their kings and appointed in their stead other kings to reign under them. These rights and peculiar privileges no doubt have from ancient times been and are well known, though perhaps some haters of peace and rebellious children have instilled into your paternal ears and falsely given you to understand that it is otherwise; but we beg that your wisdom may reject their fabricated and imaginary inventions.

Here follow the reasons in support of his case. The first reason is: Because, in the days of the prophets Eli and Samuel, a certain brave and distinguished man, Brutus by name, of Trojan birth, arrived with a strong fleet in an island formerly inhabited by giants, which was called Albion. These giants were defeated and slain by the might of him and his, and he called this country Britain, after himself, and his companions Britons; and he built a great city which he called Trinovant, and which is now called London. Afterwards he left the said kingdom to his three sons, who were to reign after him, and divided it among them—that is, to Locrin, his firstborn, he allotted that part of Britain now called England; to Albanact, his second son, that part which was then named Albania after him, but is now called Scotland; and to Camber, his youngest son, he surrendered that part which they called Cambria after him, but now Wales; but the dignity of king he reserved to his firstborn, Locrin;—and thus he passed away to the Lord. Two years after the death of Brutus, there arrived a king of the Huns, named Humber, who slew Albanact, brother of King Locrin; and, on hearing this, King Locrin pursued him and put him to flight, and he perished by drowning in a river which got its name from this same Humber. Thus Albion reverted to its overlord Locrin king of the Britons. Moreover Dunwallo king of the Britons slew Staterius king of Scotland, who had rebelled against him, and obtained his land by surrender. Then Belinus and Brenius, the sons of Dunwallo, divided between them their father's kingdom, so that Belinus, the first son, had the crown of the whole island, both Britain and Loegria and

Cambria; while Brenius was to reign under him, and had Scotland in possession: for the Trojan custom prescribed that the dignity in an inheritance should go to the eldest son. Arthur too, the famous king of the Britons, subdued Scotland, which had rebelled against him, and swept from off the face of the earth nearly the whole of the people of that country; and he afterwards appointed a certain Anguselus king of Scotland. Afterwards, when that king Arthur held a high festival in Caerleon, there were present there all the kings under his sway; among whom Anguselus king of Scotland did due service for his kingdom, and bore in state the sword of King Arthur, in the sight of all present. And thus, according to the statement of the other side, all the kings of Scotland were successively vassals of all the kings of the Britons. But, when the kings of England succeeded to the said island, Edward, called the Elder, the son of Alfred king of the English, had as vassals under him the kings of the Scots, Welsh, and Cumbrians; and Athelstan king of England appointed Constantine king to reign under him.

CHAPTER XXXV.

These allegations continued.

Moreover the Scots, being defeated in battle, submitted to Edred king of the English, and swore fealty to him as overlord; and that king of England appointed one Henry[55] king to reign over them. Edgar, also, king of England, made subject unto him Kenneth king of Scotland and Malcolm king of the Cumbrians and the petty kings of a great many of the Isles, such as Donald, Friskyn, Jacob and Lugil and Hubal. Edmund also, called Ironside, and Canute the Dane held the kingdom of Scotland in undisturbed possession, as well as the king, Malcolm by name. Also, Saint Edward the king bestowed the kingdom of Scotland upon Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, to be held of him. William the Bastard, too, received homage from Malcolm king of Scots, as from his own liegeman, subject unto him; and this same Malcolm king of Scots did homage to William Rufus king of the English. Also, the said William king of England for just cause removed Donald king of Scotland from the throne of Scotland, and made Duncan son of Malcolm king, and received the oath of fealty from him; and after the said Duncan was treacherously slain, he drove out the aforesaid Donald who had usurped the throne after him, and appointed as king the said Malcolm's son Edgar, who was succeeded by

his brother Alexander, the consent of the king of England having been obtained thereunto. Moreover David king of Scotland did homage to the empress [56] Maud, daughter and heiress of Henry the aforesaid king of England. Also, William king of Scots did homage to Henry son of the king of England, during the father's lifetime, on the morrow after his coronation, for the kingdom of Scotland, as did his brother Earl David and the barons of the kingdom of Scotland. Moreover, the lords of the county of York captured King William of Scotland by force, while he was making great havoc in the county of Northumberland, and brought him captive to King Henry of England. He accordingly, with the consent of the prelates and lords of his kingdom, did homage and tendered the oath of fealty; and, in token of his vassalage, this same King William brought a horse with spear and other knightly accoutrements as an offering to Saint Peter in the church at York; and these still remain in that church. The bishops, also, abbots and earls and barons of the said kingdom of Scotland tendered the oath of fealty to the said Henry king of England and to his son Henry, who also was crowned during the former's lifetime; and, even if the said William should wish to break the oath tendered by him, they would rise against him until he again respected the oath promised to the said king of the English. This condition, moreover, Pope Gregory IX., by divers letters of his despatched to the kings of England and Scotland, commanded to be strictly observed; and in these letters it is contained, among other things, that William and Alexander, kings of Scots, do unto John and Henry, kings of the English, the liege homage and swear the oath of fealty they are bound to render. Pope Clement, also, wrote to the king of England on behalf of a certain bishop of Saint Andrews, John, thrust out of his bishopric by the king, that he should move and force, if need be, the said king of Scotland to reinstate him securely in the bishopric, and at the same time dismiss ill feeling from his heart.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Same continued.

AGAIN, after the aforesaid covenant [57] in the church at York, before the aforesaid kings of England and Scotland and David earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, and the whole people, the bishops, earls and barons of Scotland in like manner swore the oath of fealty to the said king of the English

and his son, as their liege lords, against all men. Also the said William of Scotland, by command of the king of England, came to Northampton[58] to his parliament, and brought with him all the prelates of the kingdom of Scotland; and again another time he came to Normandy by his command. Again, this same William king of Scotland, after the decease of the aforesaid King Henry, came to Canterbury, to Richard king of England, son and heir of the said King Henry, and did homage to him. And, when Richard went the way of all flesh, the aforesaid William did homage to John king of the English, brother and heir of the said Richard, outside the city of Lincoln, upon a certain mountain, in the sight of all, and tendered the oath of fealty upon the episcopal cross of Robert archbishop of Canterbury; and he conceded this by his charter patent, and that his son Alexander, as being his liegeman, should marry according to his wishes; and, among other things, he promised faithfully that he and his said son Alexander would keep true and loyal to him and his son and heir; and he made full amends to the king of England for the marriage of his daughter to the count de Boulogne without his consent. Again, Alexander king of Scotland, Our brother-in-law, did due homage both to Our father and to Us for the kingdom of Scotland. But afterwards, when the throne was vacant through the death of the said King Alexander, and later, after the death of Margaret, daughter of that king and heiress of Scotland and Our niece, all the prelates and lords and the communities of the kingdom of Scotland flocked to Us of their own free will, as behoved them,—to their lawful lord and protector, their liege leader and guide, and the chief lord of that realm thus vacant, and unreservedly and unconditionally and absolutely acknowledged, to their certain knowledge, Our right and that of Our forefathers and ancestors to the ownership of the direct overlordship to their kingdom, and the vassalage of that kingdom. And, when the due and wonted oaths of fealty had been tendered by them to Us as the direct overlord, and the cities, burghs and castles and other fortresses of the kingdom had been surrendered into our hands, We, in the exercise of Our royal right, deputed certain[59] officers and ministers to take care of them and of the kingdom; and these lords of the realm, at the time it was vacant, were obedient unto these officers and diligently gave heed to Our instructions and royal rights. After this, divers persons who were contending for the succession to the said throne came to Us as the overlord of the kingdom, and begged Us to judge between them as to their right to the succession to the said throne, being willing and expressly asking and agreeing to be tried before Us as their superior, as

already stated, and to abide by Our judgment. At length, when the pleas and allegations of these parties had been judicially laid before Us, as above stated, and heard as far as was necessary, and the witnesses had been sworn and examined and diligently understood, in the presence of all the noble prelates and lords of that same kingdom of Scotland, and by the desire and consent of those parties craving judgment, We adjudged that one John de Balliol stood first for the throne; for We found he was the lawful heir to the throne, and had the best right thereto. This Our sentence all the prelates, barons and lords and the communities and inhabitants of the kingdom accepted, promulgated and expressly approved; and, on the said John having first tendered to Us the oath of fealty and homage, they raised him to the throne and crowned him king. And this King John, also, was at Our parliament as Our subject, like Our other liegemen, and like Our other subjects obeyed Our commands, and was in all things obedient and submissive unto Us; until this same King John and the other lords, prelates and communities of the aforesaid kingdom, of malice aforethought planned and plotted against Our majesty, conspired and were sworn together to prejudice Our right and put Us and Our heirs out of our inheritance, in defiance of the oath of fealty that bound them, and wickedly fell into the crime of high treason.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Same continued.

WHEN therefore these matters had reached Our ears through a faithful report that was corroborated by common hearsay, wishing to guard against future perils to Us and to Our kingdom and to the people of Our kingdom which might in all likelihood arise from others, to secure Our kingdom We came to the borders of the two kingdoms, and commanded this John, who was then the king, and a good many others to come to Us at a certain place on the borders of the aforesaid kingdom, to hear what We and Our council had to say as to the state, peace and tranquillity of both kingdoms, and to stand his trial on matters affecting the well-being of the kingdoms. King John, however, disobeyed Our orders and, contumaciously persisting in his contumacy and treason, girded up his loins and turned to warlike

preparations to make war upon Us and the people of Our realm, together with the bishops, barons and lords of the kingdom; and, proceeding to hostile aggression and raids, he invaded and laid waste Our kingdom and Our lands, plundered, burnt and sacked some towns and boroughs, slew Our men and set fire to Our ships; and, having taken back from Us his fealty and homage, both for himself and for the inhabitants of his kingdom besides, in words of defiance, he himself and by his agents invaded Our counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland with a huge army and, as above stated, ravaged, burned and plundered them, and slew a countless multitude of men, set fire to a great many churches and also monasteries, and committed abominable sacrilege; and they killed and barbarously massacred babes in their cradles and women with child and in labour; and, horrible and revolting as it is for man to hear, they cut off the breasts from the bosoms of some women, and moreover burnt to death the little choir-boys learning grammar at school, to the number of nearly two hundred, after blocking up the doors and windows. We therefore, seeing all this damage, dishonour, mischief and outrageous scandal treasonably inflicted, to the ousting Us from Our inheritance and the destruction of Our people, and unwilling to bear it any longer, or to leave Our rights undefended, and because this King John and the men of Scotland, who are Our subjects, would on no account condescend to clear themselves by legal means,[60]—for these and other reasons We prepared to make war against the said contumacious King John and others his accomplices and abettors; and, as We rightfully may and ought, according to the laws and customs of the realm, by the advice of the lords and magnates of Our realm We put forth the power of Our might against them as traitors, contumacious and the public enemies of Our realm, and conquered them, and punished them when conquered, and brought that kingdom under Our sway as belonging to Us, and in right of ownership. Accordingly the said King John himself, as a penalty for his contumacy and the crime of treason, of his own accord openly and absolutely surrendered and resigned entirely and unreservedly into Our hands the aforesaid kingdom, together with all right and jurisdiction, so far as he actually held it, and publicly, before the lords of Our realm, confessed and acknowledged his crimes so committed as already stated. So, after these things had taken place as aforesaid, the prelates, earls and barons and the other lords of the said kingdom of Scotland, as far as their rights went, tendered the oath of due homage and fealty unto Us as the immediate and proper lord of the said kingdom; and, on the cities and castles and other strongholds and fortresses of the said kingdom

being straightway surrendered to Us, We installed new officers therein, as We rightfully ought. But, as We are in possession of that kingdom in full sovereignty, We cannot omit, nor rightly ought We to do so without reasonable cause, to repress by the law, in virtue of Our royal sovereignty, as shall be just and We see most fitting, the insolence of Our rebellious subjects, if We find any. Because, therefore, it is clearly proved, by the foregoing and other evidence, and is well known that the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, on the grounds both of title and of possession, belongs to Us in full right, and We have not done or pledged Ourselves to anything, in writing or by deed, as neither can We do so, which could or ought to in any wise impair the aforesaid right and possession, We therefore earnestly and humbly beseech your Holiness to weigh the foregoing with careful consideration, and deign to mould the impressions of your[61] mind thereupon, in no wise, if it so please you, putting faith in the contrary allegations made or to be made to you by Our opponents on this point; but rather may it please you to deign to have Our state[62] and Our aforesaid royal rights commended to your fatherly sympathy; and may the Most High preserve you, Our father, to rule over His holy church for many happy years. Given in the year of Our Lord 1301, and of Our reign, etc.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The same continued—Copies of divers letters sent to our lord Boniface VIII. by the said King Edward, to palliate his proceedings against the Scots.

This was the letter, containing misrepresentation and perversion, which the king of England, the first Edward after the Conquest, called the Tyrant, sent over to our lord Pope Boniface VIII. by two knights, his ambassadors, together with the copy of a letter inserted in the same book, at the twenty-fourth chapter, as to how John of Balliol, induced by force and fear, was driven to resign to him unconditionally and unreservedly all right and claim which he had or could have in the kingdom and to the kingdom of Scotland; which letter was drawn up by the said king of England to suit his purpose, and was therefore of no force or importance.

Here follow copies of some other letters of supreme pontiffs, namely Honorius III. and Gregory IX., which letters also were got by misrepresentation, and which these pontiffs sent to King

Alexander II. of Scotland on behalf of King Henry the Peaceful of England.

Copy.

Gregory, Pope, etc. If your Highness consider that We are bound by special ties of affection to Our very dear son in Christ Henry, the illustrious king of the English, and love and embrace you in sincere charity, you will consequently recognise that We, even though particularly requested, neither can nor ought to fail to take an interest in keeping the peace between you and him for ever, and to render efficient aid and assistance thereto, hoping and having a firm trust that there must accrue in both kingdoms much advantage to the state from such a good understanding. That king, however, has lately had it recounted in Our presence that some time ago there was a friendly arrangement between Henry of England, of illustrious memory, and John, his father, on the one hand, and your father William king of Scots, on the other, whereby William himself did liege homage to his aforesaid grandfather and father and to the said king, and you to his father and to him, which your successors and the earls and barons of Scotland are likewise bound to render to him and his successors; and the aforesaid earls and barons were to side with the said kings of England against the king of Scotland if he did not keep to this arrangement. And if the liegemen of one fled to the other's kingdom, through fear on account of a crime committed, he and his liegemen were not to harbour them in their territory; and the liegemen of each king were to obtain the lands they had or had had by arrangement in the kingdom of the other. Hence that king humbly besought Us to deign to ratify the aforesaid arrangement with Our apostolic sanction. Wherefore We have thought right to ask and exhort you to turn your attention to the things of peace and wisely avoid such things as are well known to belong to strife and discord; diligently studying to observe the arrangement which was then made and accepted and voluntarily embraced by both parties, and especially as it is said to be most expedient for the peace and tranquillity of both kingdoms. Given at Perugia, the fourth day of January in the year of our Lord 1234, and the eighth of Our pontificate.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Copy of another letter, of Honorius III., sent by the king of England to Boniface VIII., against the king of Scotland.

HONORIUS, etc.,[63] to Alexander, the illustrious king of Scots, and to his accomplices, the spirit of sounder counsel. It mars your royal good name[64] and welfare that you have departed from your fealty to your natural lord and your devotion to your mother the Roman church, by treason such as that of conspirators, not blushing to forsake both at once, when you ought, if need were, to have defied imprisonment and banishment for the sake of maintaining either of them. We therefore warn your discretion, beseech and entreat you in the Lord, and strictly direct and command you by Our apostolic writ that, looking to the tender age[65] of Our very dear son in Christ Henry, the illustrious king of England, and having due regard for the Roman church itself, to whose injury this plot is devised, you do forsake the counsel of the ungodly and return to your fealty to that king and your devotion to the apostolic see, notwithstanding the unlawful oaths tendered to Louis, the son of the most illustrious king of the French, to the contrary. And, if you turn to the right hand and sensibly withdraw what you have senselessly attempted, We promise you Our special grace and favour, and that of the apostolic see. Nevertheless We promise you Our apostolic help[66] to recover completely the good-will of the said king and to obtain your rights. Given at the Lateran, on the 17th day of January, in the year of Christ 1216, and the first of Our pontificate.

CHAPTER XL.

Copy of another forged letter.

THE royal dignity requires that, the more it excels in honour, the more diligently it should keep pure in its dealings. We indeed understand from information We have received from Our very dear son in Christ Henry, the illustrious king of the English, that whereas you are his liegeman and have tendered to him an oath of fealty whereby you bound yourself chiefly not to make any attempt whatever to his detriment or to that of

the kingdom of England, you do not observe it, but endeavour in many ways to impair his honour; and We cannot help being astonished at this. As, however, We cherish the said king with the feelings of a father, as especially the son of the said apostolic see, and embrace thee in sincere charity, as being devoted to Us and the Christian church, We therefore wish that there should be a bond of union between you, and the more ardently because a misunderstanding between the kingdoms would grieve Us greatly and deeply distress Us. Accordingly We have thought it right to ask and earnestly exhort your Excellency to endeavour to do your duty more thoroughly towards the aforesaid king, so that you may thereby the more richly earn that king's affection and love and find Us the more favourable and well-disposed towards you in your time of need. Given at Viterbo the 27th day of April, in the year of Christ 1236, and the tenth year of Our pontificate.

All these copies the procurators of Scotland at the court of Rome sent over to the kingdom of Scotland, to advise and consult upon, and to answer; and the councillors of Scotland, having well consulted and advised thereupon, sent the following instructions to the Curia.

CHAPTER XLI.

How the Scots met the inventions of the tyrant Edward king of the English.

Copies of these letters and several others, which were laid before Pope Boniface and presented to him against the Scots, the supreme pontiff ordered to be set forth in an official document by his special notary, and he directed that they should be brought under the eyes of the Scots ambassadors, to be carefully examined, lest anything contained therein concerning the principal matter should happen to escape their notice, and that they might the rather be able, by previous deliberation, more easily and more maturely answer every objection touching the right of the kingdom of Scotland to independence. These were sent to Scotland and answered after mature deliberation; and the prelates, barons and councillors of Scotland sent them back to the Curia with the following instructions, in the form here following on this wise.

CHAPTER XLII.

Instructions sent to the court of Rome by the prelates and barons of the kingdom of Scotland against Edward king of England.

It is well known that the lord king of England, seizing a favourable opportunity, as one lying in wait from his lurking-place, to injure the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, which was vacant and without a head and torn to pieces, widowed, so to speak, of a king of its own, and which, as the Roman church was then vacant, lacked the protection of any defender, and was nevertheless exposed to manifest danger of twofold persecution and tribulation, to wit its own internal strife and the external encroachment of the above-mentioned king of England, so near a neighbour,—it is well known that then this king of England first of all attacked it and, of malice aforethought, unjustly disturbed it with regard to the peaceful state of independence it had been enjoying before; and afterwards he not only harassed the people of that kingdom by many repeated hostile inroads, much damage and outrage and divers grievous hardships, but also, casting behind him the fear of God, with sacrilegious daring tyrannously defiled God's very church in that kingdom; and as for the prelates, ecclesiastics and other reverend persons of that kingdom, some he banished and others he consigned to fearful dungeons, while of some of the churches of the aforesaid kingdom, of the stately cathedral churches, he made stables for his horses, after the manner of the Saracens; and, besides all this, he burned down many churches in the said kingdom, and wrought and committed endless other barbarities, crimes and massacres, of which we say nothing. Accordingly he was summoned to appear, by a given time allowed him, before the apostolic see, by his procurators and ambassadors furnished with his pleas in law and title-deeds, in order to state his right to that kingdom of Scotland, if he claimed to have any to it, and submit to the law as laid down by the supreme pontiff, the ordinary and competent judge; for the whole matter about that kingdom was solemnly called up by letters apostolic for examination and determination by the apostolic see upon argument, and there followed an apostolic decree that he should do nothing to the contrary. That king, however, did not trouble himself to appear at the Curia, as he ought to have done, by the aforesaid time so prescribed unto him, or to make any satisfactory statement as to his right, though further time was allowed him for this; nay, after the lapse of four months from the time

prescribed unto him, without the procuratorial mandate necessary or sufficient in the case, he sent only his bare letter to our lord the supreme pontiff instead of proof and demonstration of his right, of every kind, which he asserted to belong to him in the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland. In this letter of his he cunningly ignored the most conclusive arguments and points of law previously brought forward by the apostolic writs, which clearly prove the independence enjoyed by Scotland, and, in order to palliate and even excuse the outrages committed in these days by him in that kingdom of Scotland, he had recourse to giving a connected account, from the very beginning, of a story of some antiquity, because it is unknown and uncertain. Now this story, though it is given from remote times, from the twin egg, so to speak, seems at first plausible and smooth on the surface, and fair enough; yet, when one goes thoroughly to the root of the matter and the truth of the affair lurking in the kernel, it is convicted of being sophistical and devoid of all trustworthiness, as will more plainly appear below. For, granting that these forgotten stories of long ago, touched upon by that king, about Brutus and the Britons and the Saxons, had any truth in them at the time, still they cannot claim to apply to modern times or relations of lord and vassal, as having been swept away by the alterations, changes and innovations of later events and times; nor is it just for that king to carry on any traditions of the Britons by these high-handed acts of his which have lately taken place in these days about the aforesaid constitution of the kingdom of Scotland. For no one can be himself at once witness, suitor and judge in his own cause, or by his own writings support and prove the justice of his own cause. No wonder, then, if one who has nothing true to advance fears the judgment of a righteous judge and the result of a sentence to be pronounced against him, that he should be silent and contumacious, especially if his proceedings would be sifted justly although he himself were absent. At first, however, he strove, merely through his own statements, to avoid trial by the apostolic see, to escape judgment by a priest of the race of Levi and a judge who probes all things, the Roman pontiff, doubtless provided by God as the one last refuge on earth for those crushed down by might and so wrongfully dispoiled; and, by merely begging[67] arguments, unproved, but frivolous and of a futile antiquity, and on his own bare assertion alone, he strove to paralyse the working of the reference of this matter to the Curia made by the see itself, to deprive the Scots of the remedy of the right of relief, and of the help of the said see, to which this kingdom of Scotland belongs; and not without being

in contempt of the apostolic see itself, and to the no slight prejudice of its jurisdiction, and daring to narrow the wonted jurisdiction of the said Roman church, especially between kings and kingdoms, and the very large powers it had before; and moreover not without the baneful result of a distinct evil, to wit the opening the door to forbidden subterfuges, and to the flagrant damaging of the law by showing that, without any prescription of court or other lawful cause put forward according to law by a procurator duly appointed for that purpose, the jurisdiction of the ordinary judge could be defied.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Same continued.

Now this kingdom of Scotland, which, as has been said, is known to belong directly to the Roman church, by common law, according to which an equal has no authority over his equal, and according to which one king is not under another king, nor one kingdom under another kingdom, nor one consul under another consul, nor one prætor under another prætor, has always been quite independent as regards this king of England, and, having been[68] in enjoyment of this independence from time immemorial as well as now, is fortified against him on this point in a lawful prosecution. It is maintained also that it is not a fief of that king's, or feudatory to him; and there is and can be no honest belief to the contrary. So no other fit judge in the said matter can be found, but the Roman church itself, to whom recourse could be had by the Scots and their Scottish church, so grossly injured and oppressed by the said king, in order to obtain justice for the wrongs and damage inflicted upon them. Nor ought the aforesaid allegations, testimony, or statements of the said lord king, which he addressed to the supreme pontiff on his own behalf, he being a party and a sole witness, not sworn, to be believed in this cause of his own to the prejudice of another, however much higher that king may be in dignity; and especially in the absence of the other party, by whose allegations and by the mutual conflict of the pleadings, and not by letters and libels, the merits of the case are brought out.[69] Moreover that king could not be a fit judge in the aforesaid cause, for the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland is altogether not subject or feudatory unto him, as has been said. Therefore the paramount authority of the apostolic see, which sees that its subjects are dealt with, not by might, but

by right, and has never been wont to be in any wise slow to right those, especially its own, who flee to it, ought not to be hindered or forbear, on the pretext of what was brought forward by that king in the absence of the party, from proceeding justly, as it began, in the aforesaid matter rightfully so referred to itself, and doing justice as to the said kingdom of Scotland; especially as the daring acts committed by the said king of England, as being a sacrilegious person, come under the censure even of a judge of the church, and his manifold wickedness,[70] as being an aggressor, should be punished by the same ecclesiastical judge. And it is the duty of the church to do full justice against him, great though he is, to any injured persons who complain, and especially to churches and ecclesiastical persons so afflicted and oppressed by this king and his men; and particularly that the reference of this matter to the Curia so deliberately made some time ago by the see itself should not, instead of being a very acceptable benefit, become, through the said king's unproved inventions of an obsolete antiquity and the attacks carried on by him upon the said kingdom of Scotland, a laughing-stock, illusory, of none effect and invalid, the cause not being heard in the presence of the parties; but should rather remain effectual, stable and lasting, enduring as a mighty benefit to each prince and to the said see. For it would clearly detract from the lustre, honour and authority of that see if an undue and forcible union of the kingdoms so begun should go on underhand, without the sanction of that see, through the might alone of the said king. Such an union of the kingdoms ought by no means to be brought about save by the see itself. Besides, that king's aforesaid letter has notorious falsehoods annexed to it, and contains some even in its narrative; and these make his assertions and the whole contents of his letter, by reason of the admixture of these falsehoods, notoriously questionable, and justly dispose one to reject them, even as a little leaven leavens the whole mass.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Same continued.

He also wrote in his said letter addressed to the supreme pontiff, in order to bring out more strongly his right to the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, what the whole world knows to be false, that he was, at the date of his letter, in possession of that kingdom of Scotland in full sovereignty; whereas it is

notorious that he had not[71] in that kingdom a single city, or episcopal see, or town or a whole diocese out of the twelve bishoprics there are there, that kingdom and people being in the almost entire enjoyment of their pristine independence. Now on account of the taint of this notorious falsehood annexed, the said king ought to have been debarred from the examination and proof of the remainder of his assertions; but more particularly from the fact that he did not trouble himself to appear at the Roman Curia by the time allowed him, or to adduce anything satisfactory as to the right which he claimed to have in that kingdom over the independence it has uninterruptedly enjoyed—that kingdom afterwards so defamed and disturbed by him. Now, although that king cannot establish his point from the aforesaid and, in view of the above-mentioned points of law and arguments, the writings he wrote ought not to do any harm to the kingdom of Scotland, yet, since that king, in order to suit his purpose,[72] coloured and garbled history, and wrote on many points shortly and plainly, first touching upon the original state of Brutus and the island of Britain and of the people and kings who succeeded Brutus in the island of Britain,—and how Brutus himself then first divided the island into three parts, Cambria, Albania and Locria, among his three sons, Locrine, Camber and Albanact,—since, therefore, that king omitted to write the truth of the matter, touching only upon those things that seemed to suit his purpose, and suppressing the rest of the truth, it behoves us to turn our attention more fully to the full facts of the story, and to tell what he has as yet left unwritten. First, how that island of Britain, or part thereof, Albania, lost the name and memory of its British race, and in place of it Albania got the new name of Scotia with the race of the Scots. Now, from a true and full account of this story it will be seen that what that king wrote upon this subject does not advance his views, but rather clearly makes against him, if we bring out the facts of the story that lie under the surface; and, if the mists of antiquity, conjured up by the king, are dispelled, it will be seen that these mists cannot unduly arrogate to themselves the place of light, as is alleged. After that most ancient people the Scots, then so called after a woman of the name of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, had come out of Egypt, and after they had first settled in an island in the ocean named Hibernia, so called from that river of Spain, the Hyber, and driven out the giants—Isidore calls it the island of the Scots—and after having, according to Bede, next settled in Argadia, a part of the aforesaid Britain adjoining Albania itself, which Argadia was then and even to this day called

Argyll, from Erk, son of Scota, and Gael, this Scota's husband, by putting the two names together, later in after times this people, having cast out the Britons from Albania, occupied Albania, namely that aforesaid part Albania, which is the third division of Britain, whereof the king of England writes, by the same right and title as that whereby Brutus afterwards occupied Britain, the Scots themselves bestowing upon that part of the island, so occupied, the new name of Scotia, from that Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh and the mistress of the Scots. Hence the line—

The Scots from Scota, Scotia from the Scots.

After this the Scots banished the Britons, with their king, their laws, their tongue and their manners, from that part of the island, which from that time forward changed its name of Albania and received a new name, Scotia, together with the nation, tongue, laws and manners of the Scots, as is notoriously evident even down to the present day, who hold complete dominion over it; and they and their king and the new domination of the Scots have nothing to do with the Britons. So this third division of Britain, at first called Albania from Albanact, thenceforth changed its name and condition and was called Scotland, and for this reason it has always afterwards steadily and uninterruptedly retained this name. The king, however, not without reason, omitted to put this down, believing it would rather hinder than suit his purpose. Furthermore the Scots, having thus become the enemies of the Britons, allied with themselves the stranger people of the Picts by sharing with them their land of Scotland so obtained, and they so harried the descendants of the Britons, and so harassed and molested that other part of Britain near them, which was then called Logria and now England, with hostile inroads, that the Britons, the inhabitants of that part, were obliged to submit to a fixed tribute to the Romans, and to bespeak their help against the attacks of the Scots and Picts. Accordingly, in the time of the Emperor Severus, certain legions of Romans were sent to their assistance, to defend them against the Scots and Picts; and these built that most ancient stone wall, 130 miles in length, which stretches through the middle of Britain from sea to sea, dividing Scotia from Loegria, with pitfalls in front of the wall, moats and towers, and gates shutting and closed against the Scots and Picts; and traces of these walls may clearly be seèn even at the present day. What we know of all this is proved clearly enough by histories above sus-

picion, as likewise it will be plainly evident to those who look at the Roman remains.

CHAPTER XLV.

Same continued.

Hence it is plain that it is not likely that the Britons built a wall so costly and otherwise useless to them, save only for their own protection against the Scots; and they would by no means have called in the assistance of the Romans from so far, especially if the direct overlordship of the whole of that island, as is alleged and the aforesaid king asserts, or the sole dominion over the said island had remained with themselves, or the Scots had previously been subject to these Britons. Therefore these writings of the king's as to those early British times, so drawn up in order to support or further the purpose he had in his royal view, and thereby to appropriate to himself the direct overlordship of Scotland and strengthen the foundations of his right to that throne, are of no use, and do not rest upon any adequate basis of truth.[73] Moreover it may be clearly gathered from the foregoing, first, that the right alleged to have been possessed in the time of the Britons has not passed on continuously down to this king or his family, as he writes, but that naturally, as we see from the aforesaid and other facts, that possession was very often interrupted, and that all the claim that the king, on the subject of his original right, alleges he has in that realm of Scotland, on the score of his having, as he says, succeeded the Britons in the kingdom of Loegria, whereas it springs from a defective source of dead works and rests upon those British times, so weak a foundation, and one shortly afterwards done away with, and later on interrupted in the middle, has been done away with and invalidated by time; and that the various and sundry consequences apparently based thereon, on the subject of the right of the said lord king to the said kingdom of Scotland, ought justly to crumble into dust when the truth of the matter is laid bare in the presence of the parties; but that, inasmuch as the state of things in those days, as it then was, is not lasting any more than that of now-a-days,—as we see in the chronicles of the Romans, who sometime ruled over the whole world, and to whom the empire of the world, as it were, which at first belonged to the Assyrians, is well known to have finally come after passing from nation to nation, and with whom it still remains,—therefore, if at first by any right the kingdom of Loegria sometime obtained sole dominion over the whole British

island of Britain, as the king alleges, though it is not true, when that original state of things in those days was altered and the Scots afterwards occupied a third part of the island of the Britons, namely Albania aforesaid, and signally swept away thence the name and memory of the Britons, the sole dominion over the island, if it ever belonged to the Britons, had notoriously, it is said, in course of time long ceased to be theirs, and it is moreover known not to have remained with the kingdom of Loegria: nay, by God's providence as well as through the devoutness of the faithful in after times, it undoubtedly passed over to the church of Rome by a grant of Constantine the Great, and clearly is vested in her. Now the aforesaid church may well perceive how greatly this king of England would be encroaching on her rights by unduly appropriating to himself the sole dominion over this island, which is not his, to another's prejudice, and also by appropriating to himself afresh, by force and fear, the often-mentioned acephalous kingdom of Scotland, while the apostolic see, the direct mistress of that domain, was vacant and not consulted, and may see how serious an injury might thereby be threatened to the church herself for the time, if one king reigned in this island of Britain, and the royal dignity, so obtained, and the name of king unduly came to an end in the kingdom of Scotland. The kingdom of Scotland, always from days of old a danger to the kingdom of England, is not known or proved to have been under any of the British or Saxon kings whatever, save so far as antiquity relates that, even as Arthur subdued Denmark and Gaul and Norway by his might, so also did he subdue Scotland, during his own time only; and, when this Arthur was slain in battle by Mordred son of Loth king of Scotland, Scotland was so far restored to her pristine independence thereby. Again, when the Britons were afterwards cast out of Logria by the Saxons, more by treachery than by might, power, or force of arms, and again when the Saxons themselves were cast out of the said kingdom of Logria by the Danes, and later, when the Danes were driven out thence by the Saxons and the former name of the kingdom of Logria was changed to Anglia, yet, while all these changes in name and inhabitants went on in the kingdom of Logria, Scotland never changed its name, nor the Scottish people their name or state of independence; but it stood fast and immoveable, and we read that it was not subject unto any other king of the Saxons, or of Logria, of Britain, or of Anglia, but unto Arthur alone, during his time only, as already stated, whatever the aforesaid king of England may presume to advance to the contrary.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Same continued.

Now while the Saxons were endeavouring to crush the kingdom of Scotland, a great victory over them was granted by God to the allied Picts and Scots at Athelstanford, near Haddington, through the honoured relics of the blessed apostle Andrew, which were miraculously brought over by sea from Greece to Scotland, where King Hungus was then reigning; and it was on that account that the Scots first firmly received the faith, four hundred years and more before the Saxons or Angles received that faith. And, for obtaining so great a victory miraculously granted by God, it is said that the kings of those days acknowledged that thenceforth the said kingdom of Scotland should be a fief of the church of Rome; and the church of the kingdom of Scotland, far as it was, began, through a great mystery and by the grant of God, to be under the chief of the church alone, the blessed Peter and the blessed Andrew his brother and his successor the Roman pontiff, without any other metropolitan between; and it never passed into another branch of the head metropolitan church. Afterwards, indeed, when the kingdom of England was made tributary to the Roman pontiff and his church, as is well known, Scotland did not, like England, bear the burden of such tribute, it being inapplicable to her under any right of overlordship; and we read that this kingdom of Scotland, as the peculiar and especial freehold of the church in full right, together with its church quite separate from England, was thenceforth defended by that church of Rome, with the whole might of the protection, benefits and privileges of the apostolic see, against the Saxons and their successors the English, always very hostile to the Scots, as unbelievers are wont to be to the faithful. In other parts moreover the church of Rome sometimes made use of them, like Assur, to cow the neighbouring rebellious nations; and it might yet perhaps in course of time need their use and help, as it has needed it. If therefore, as is alleged, the kingdom of Scotland were a dependency of the kingdom of England, it would not be more free than the latter as to the payment of taxes and other things, nor would it in this and in other things be taxed by a different system from it at all. For, as the kingdom of Scotland did not pay a certain tax, so neither did the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, or Westmoreland, although they fell under the sway of the English. This was so because the aforesaid counties were altogether subject to the Scots at the time

this tax was established, and thus they remained altogether free from the payment of this tax. And it was through no one but the Scots, the first teachers of the faith in those parts, namely Saint Columba, Saint Aydan, Saint Colman and Saint Finian, together with others, their companions, that a notion of the faith and the knowledge of the name of Christ reached the people of those counties, long before the English; nor is it called in question that the Scots king Gregory, son of Dongall, sometime subdued the whole of England, as is clearly proved by their own chronicles in the Gestes of the English. Of the subjection of the Scots to the Saxons, however, which is altogether denied, there is no proof whatever but the mere and bare assertion of the aforesaid king of England and his forged and suspicious private papers, which are by no means admissible as evidence for himself. Nor is there authority for believing that saint's miracles or revelations which he alludes to; even if he were a martyr, what proof is there that these revelations came from God? The proof of them from the king's letter is not conclusive, nor even what is usual for judgments in our time, seeing that we read that Satan's angel transforms himself into an angel of light, and that the witch answered Saul in the likeness of Samuel. Now no one has ever heard that there has ever been talk in Scotland of any revelation made to that Saint John such as the king of England alleges on his own behalf from his own sources. However, even if the miracles alleged by that king, or the sundry events of that time, could then have been proved true, though in fact they were false, yet we know that we have altogether departed from that old state of things, and that this kingdom of Scotland has from time immemorial enjoyed complete liberty, and secured it by prescription, being borne out by the common law in this; so that the old facts alleged by the king, even if they had been true, as they are false, would now have no weight whatever, nor could they in any way be insisted on, seeing that when the sovereignty of this part of the island, Albania, was transferred to the Scots, a change took place in the former law and title, and has lasted for ever after; and recent events and subsequent arrangements, which must be borne in mind, have modified these things which the king has written about, and whereof neither proof nor even remembrance exists. And it is certain that the kingdom of Scotland was lately proved to be independent, when Alexander III., the last king thereof, died; and thus, arguing from a short time ago to preceding times longer ago, as the law dictates, it is presumed to have been independent from days of yore; and subsequent events indicate that it really is so.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Same continued.

Going on, then, with divers statements about the last period of the Norman kings of England, as of the preceding kings, namely the Briton and the Saxon, and their times, the king of England put down much that suits his purpose but is entirely devoid of truth; and it can all be answered categorically and briefly. For, if King William of Scotland did fealty or homage to any king after the arrival of the Normans in England, as is alleged, it could be legally proved that such homage was not for the kingdom of Scotland, which was independent by common law and in fact, but for the lands situated in England, which the kings of Scotland were wont to have in England at that time. Nor is this traversed by the story of the reinstatement of Duncan and Edgar, kings of Scotland, and the overthrow of Dovenald, touched upon by the king, if we turn our attention more fully to the truth of the matter as it is; for while the kingdom of Scotland was some time ago in the hands of one Dovenald, after the lawful heirs, the sons of King Malcolm and the blessed Margaret, had been driven from the throne—Matilda, the daughter of this Malcolm and Margaret had been married to Henry I. king of England, called Beauclerk—Duncan, the natural or bastard eldest son of this Malcolm, supported perhaps by the said Henry king of England, as being his sister's husband, his kinsman, not his lord,[74] is known to have recovered the kingdom of Scotland, and driven out thence the aforesaid Dovenald. When Duncan was afterwards slain and the throne was again a second time filled by the said Dovenald, Edgar, the eldest son of the said Malcolm and Margaret, drove him out and, likewise perhaps with the assistance of the said king of England, recovered the throne of Scotland. In like manner, when the throne of England was similarly unjustly filled by one King Stephen, it was, through David king of Scotland and by his help, recovered by Henry II. king of England, the son of the Empress Maud—which Empress Maud was the daughter of Matilda the good queen of England, the sister of the said King David of Scotland, and was then lawful heiress to the English throne, but had, together with her aforesaid son Henry II., called the Peaceful, been driven from the throne by the said King Stephen; and it was recovered in like manner as stated. For this mutual support, however, such as is wont to be given among neighbours as well as kinsmen,

who, when the interests of either are involved and the case requires it, aid and abet each other mutually,—on account of this it is unjustly argued, but by no means proved, that the kingdom of Scotland was vassal to the kingdom of England, or in some measure dependent on that kingdom of England. The truth is that this King David of Scotland held at that time the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland as his own and, as is certain and plain, built several castles and founded several monasteries therein; and the aforesaid King David of Scotland is never known to have done any homage or given a token of any other dependence to the said king of England for the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, but only for those lands which King David obtained in England, as may be clearly proved. For, while Henry, the son of this David king of Scotland, and deceased before his father, was earl of Huntingdon in England, he could not do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, as the king of England alleges he did, his father being yet alive, but only for the aforesaid earldom of Huntingdon, which was situated in England, and which he held of him; for it has not been usual for a son to do homage for his father's fief while the father is alive and holds the fief. So it is proved that this is how we must understand what he introduces further on about the homage done by David and William, the sons of that Henry earl of Huntingdon, who, while their grandfather David king of Scotland was still alive, their father Henry, however, being dead, did due homage to the king of England for these lands of theirs situated in England on succeeding their father the said deceased Earl Henry; for the said homage done by the aforesaid Henry, David and William cannot refer to the kingdom of Scotland, or have been on account of that kingdom, while the aforesaid David king of Scots was, as already stated, still alive. But, notwithstanding this, the king of England, unaware of the above fact, tries to introduce his aforesaid sophistical statements to make one think otherwise.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Same continued.

But, when this King David died at Carlisle, being then, so to speak, in peaceful possession of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the throne of Scotland was then vacant through his death, in the absence of the aforesaid King David's grandson William, the then heir to the said throne and suc-

cessor to the said King David, this William being at that time at the wars for the faith, in the district of Toulouse, against the heretical Albigenses, the son of the Empress Maud, Henry king of England, under whom suffered Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and to whom this David had brought about the restoration of the throne of England, ungratefully returning evil for good invaded and occupied by force the aforesaid counties of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmoreland, and by his intrigues erected a cathedral church in the city of Carlisle, by the authority of the supreme pontiff.[75] This church had before been in the diocese of Glasgow, and had been converted to the faith by Saint Kentigern, who was a Scot, and to whose memory and honour many churches were built and dedicated in that diocese. The above-mentioned William, however, after he was raised to the throne, being strongly desirous of recovering these counties, assembled an army; and we read that he was taken prisoner in England and brought captive to Normandy, to Henry the Elder, king of England. While a prisoner there, as the king now alleges in his paper, to gain his freedom he initiated many extraordinarily unseemly measures against the constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, promising while in prison things which he afterwards fulfilled, and giving the king of England four of the strongest castles in the kingdom of Scotland as security. But, by fulfilling promises of this kind thus made to the prejudice of the kingdom of Scotland, he ought not thereby to damage his kingdom, or the independence of the kingdom of Scotland, seeing that he was kept in prison: first, because this King William, thus consigned to prison, was not free or independent; secondly, what he then promised in prison and is known to have afterwards performed was, however, afterwards done away with by later compacts, which were contrary to the former compacts, whence they could not damage the kingdom of Scotland, as already stated, or the independence thereof; thirdly, because that state of things and the compacts and agreements thus entered into were afterwards withdrawn from, and the original and proper independence of the kingdom of Scotland was reverted to, in accordance with warranted lawful prescription; for afterwards this King William, as already stated, or other kings of Scotland rendered invalid, null and void the several compacts, agreements and promises made by King William or other kings of Scotland, if such had been made previously, which the said king of England has brought forward against the independence of the kingdom of Scotland; and this is clearly proved by the fact that Richard king of England, son of the above-mentioned King Henry, returning to

a better state of mind, acknowledged that his father the aforesaid Henry had dealt unjustly with William king of Scotland and his realm; for it is well known that, on receipt of a large sum of money from him, he restored to the said King William the castles which his father held in Scotland as security aforesaid, and also altogether released the said King William from all bonds, compacts and promises whatsoever which had arisen from the aforesaid captivity, as well as all other rights which he saw belonged to him over the kingdom of Scotland from this cause; and he altogether and absolutely freed the said King William from the same, on whatever grounds he had a hold on them, whether in law or in fact, by certain public deeds and instruments drawn up for the purpose. Moreover the vassals of Scotland have never at any time been known to do homage to any king of England whatever, except in case of imprisonment, such as the foregoing, or any other compulsion, violence or lawlessness; nay, the criminals of one kingdom escaping to the other kingdom have always found a refuge, which they would not have found if one of the kingdoms had been subject to the other.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Rescripts of Pope Gregory, and answers.

Hence it follows that as for the rescripts of Gregory IX. and Honorius III., wherein, according to the representations made by the king of England on the point, the king of Scotland is styled the liegeman of the above-mentioned king of England, either this must be understood as applying to his lands which the king of Scotland held from him in England, and not to the kingdom of Scotland, ever and entirely independent; or it may be understood for the period when the king of Scotland was a prisoner, as stated above; so that these rescripts, which are known to have been got by the representations of the king of England, ought not to prejudice the independence of the kingdom of Scotland in this, nor do they stand in the way of it, having been clearly abrogated, quashed and declared invalid by the latest compacts which followed them, and by subsequent releases by kings of England. As for these rescripts, they contain, according to the practice of that time, only the statement of the king of England to suit those circumstances, a conditional conclusion and the supreme pontiff's answer; and no one can be prejudiced thereby. Nay, it is clearly proved that

what was stated in that rescript afterwards lost its force, because there are no such agreements, approved or authorised by the aforesaid supreme pontiffs,—to wit, that any vassals of the realm of Scotland should do homage, fealty or vassalage to any king save for lands situated within the kingdom of England, as already stated, which the lords of Scotland used to hold from the king of England. For it is well known, and nobody doubts it, that these agreements and compacts were voided, and that from time immemorial there has been a place of refuge, as said above, for all criminals escaping from the kingdom of England into Scotland, and contrariwise; and hence it is not likely that one kingdom was under the dominion of the other. So the agreements, if any, thus entered into in the time of King William were voided by deed or by usage, and the very opposite afterwards ensued and was in force for a very long time. Therefore, as the force of those statements of ancient facts brought forward by the king has been done away with, and their unproved errors exploded, it will be brought out in a clearer light, both by common law and by lawful prescription, as also by the latest apostolic privileges and rescripts of most complete independence, and equally so by the doings and acts of the kings themselves last reigning in England, who countenanced and approved the independence of the kingdom of Scotland, of both the kingdom and the kings, that both the king and the kingdom of Scotland are entirely independent of the king of England and his kingdom, as is shown by the following modern proofs, whereby will be unanswerably shown where the truth lies.

CHAPTER L.

Same continued.

King Alexander, son of this King William, reigned six-and-thirty years in Scotland as king, and did no homage to any English king for the kingdom of Scotland; nor has the king of England, nor have any other kings his predecessors time out of mind, ever made any mention at all of any homage done by him as by the king for the kingdom of Scotland. Alexander III., too, the son of the said Alexander II., and now late king of Scotland, who reigned thirty-five years in entire independence after his father, when doing homage to this Edward, the now king of England, only for the lands of Penrith and Tyndale, situated in England, wishing to act cautiously and to secure himself in the rights and independence he enjoyed, and to pre-

serve them for the future if any doubt were raised on the point, publicly declared that he did him such homage in no way for the kingdom of Scotland, but for the aforesaid lands, therein named, and situated in England; and this present King Edward admitted and received it when offered thus by him, and made then no mention nor raised the question of the vassalage of the throne of Scotland. Hence it is presumed and we are given to understand that such homage and the like, if ever done to former kings of England by the kings of Scotland in those times whereof mention is made in the present letter of this king of England, was such as this homage last done for lands situated within the realm of England, as aforesaid, approved and admitted by those same kings of England in those times; for the subjects are such as the predicates admit of. And this state of independence of the kingdom of Scotland is plainly declared and pointed to by the latest chronicles of the kingdom; and various acts and divers apostolic rescripts and privileges plainly prove this very same thing. For, in the first place, when Henry, the late king of England, besought Alexander king of Scotland, his son-in-law, to lend him assistance against Simon de Montfort and his accomplices, he acknowledged, as a security, by his letters-patent thereupon given to the king of Scotland, that he did not wish to have his assistance aforesaid to the prejudice of his independence or that of his kingdom, out of any service in any way whatsoever due to him, but only as a particular favour and grace. This King Edward also, the son of that King Henry his father, walking in the footsteps of his pregenitor and giving his countenance to what had been done before, when he was minded to have Alexander king of Scotland, his sister's husband, present at the ceremony of his coronation, sent over to the said King Alexander, who refused to go thither otherwise, his letters-patent that he was not doing so through any service he owed, but only granted him this as a favour and kindness.

CHAPTER LI.

Same continued.

When, afterwards, the guardianship of the kingdom of Scotland was vacant after the death of the aforesaid King Alexander, it did not devolve upon him as the direct overlord of the domain of the kingdom of Scotland, as usually happens with fiefs; but, by that king's advice,[76] six guardians of the said kingdom were chosen by the lords of that kingdom. When that

king of England knew this, he tolerated, approved and assented to the government of these guardians, and did not then claim that he had any right over the said kingdom, for it was not as yet torn in pieces, as it afterwards was; and no obstacle was raised on this score by that king of England to the said six guardians for the space of six years or more during which they had the guardianship of the said kingdom, until and down to the time that there began to arise in the said kingdom of Scotland a subject of dispute between certain parties about the right of succession to the throne, after the death of Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, grand-daughter of the said King Alexander, and true heiress to the throne while she lived, though she died in girlhood; for after her death a great quarrel broke out between some lords of the realm who were contending as to who had the better right. By reason of this the king of England, at first outwardly pretending that he wanted to set them at one and to negotiate for peace in Scotland between the opposing parties, thus, like a wolf in sheep's clothing, thrust himself unasked into the negotiations of that kingdom, and cleverly drew to him one party of the contending lords of the kingdom; and the other party, seeing this, would not withstand him. So he actually, though not by right, but by oppression, force and fear, which might fall upon the most loyal man, usurped the guardianship of that kingdom left desolate without a shepherd. And, though the church of Rome was then, on behalf of that kingdom of Scotland, named before him as the mistress of that kingdom, as she was, yet that king would not admit such a pretension, but is known to have said in the presence of many, so that he might not go back from his words, If any Roman priest wanted to say anything for the independence of Scotland, so far as he was concerned, he should come to London, and there lay before him what he wanted. Nor also did that king, on his own arrival then in the kingdom of Scotland, succeed in getting the lords of that kingdom to present themselves before him outside the borders of that kingdom, which he begged them as a favour to do, until he had first given security by letters-patent, as a pledge for the independence in force while these lords were still split up into parties, that this coming to him out of the kingdom would not redound to the prejudice of that kingdom, and that it was not to be a duty, but a favour. By a solemn embassy of his also, composed of bishops, earls and barons specially commissioned therefor, the aforesaid king of England solemnly promised, but some time before, while the throne of Scotland was vacant, that, if it so happened that no issue was left of the marriage spoken of above, to be contracted between his eldest

son Edward and Margaret, the heiress and mistress of the said kingdom of Scotland, then alive, he would freely, without any claim of vassalage whatever, restore the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland to the lords of the realm, and without any vassalage whatever; and we could soon give satisfactory proof of this. So it is not likely that this king would have been by any means willing to promise this, if it could have been held with any show of reason that he had any right of vassalage or overlordship over the aforesaid king. Many other things besides, indeed, which cannot be set down shortly, plainly prove the independence of this kingdom of Scotland, which rests upon the strongest foundation of common law; and it is proved to be supported by ancient and modern events, and by many other apostolic rescripts and privileges, which have been uninterruptedly in force down to the present day. Among these, Pope Honorius III., treading in the footsteps of his predecessors, is known to have granted to the kingdom of Scotland that no one of the kingdom of Scotland be brought for trial before judges abroad about lands and property situated in that kingdom; always, however, without prejudice to the authority of the apostolic see, and that too when appeals to that see are interposed. And about such lands and property situated in Scotland there would by no means be an appeal to that see, if that kingdom were subject to another king,—for this would seem to be contrary to common law and absurd; and it would even not be known to be directly subject to the Roman church in temporalities. But it is proved by a late example that this kingdom of Scotland is directly subject to the said Roman church in temporalities. For, in the cause of the earldom of Menteith, situated in Scotland, not a spiritual or ecclesiastical one, but rather a criminal one and falling under the state judicature, there was an appeal from a judgment which was given in the court of the king of Scotland, and which did not stand long, to the aforesaid apostolic see; and the appeal is known to have been referred by that apostolic see to certain judges to decide. It is thus clear that the king of England, by not then opposing this in the least, but allowing that see to act and dispose of it freely, has thus prejudged what was before competent to him, and what he now alleges to be so. And it is not likely that the apostolic see would have so referred the appeal, if the direct overlordship of the said kingdom of Scotland had been vested in that king of England and not in itself. Moreover God and the whole world know that, so long as Scotland was not without a king and a subject of dispute had not arisen in the kingdom of Scotland, the king of England did not claim any right of superiority over the kingdom of Scotland; though

now, when a quarrel has broken out, he has, without any legitimate reason, through lust of power, begun to harass the said kingdom and strive to bring it under his yoke; and it is only from this quarrel that his weak case takes its origin.

CHAPTER LII.

Same continued.

When, moreover, the aforesaid king of England asked for a tithe from the kingdom of Scotland, Innocent refused to grant it, adding that he was not in the habit of granting to any king whatever a tithe from a foreign kingdom. It is plainly hinted thereby that the kingdom of Scotland was altogether alien, so far as that king of England was concerned, and in no degree vassal to that king of England. Moreover, when this Innocent then granted to the king of England a tithe out of his kingdom, out of all his subject-lands or those under his jurisdiction, as it clearly appears, he did not thereby grant a tithe of the kingdom of Scotland to him, but to quite another, indicating clearly, that, as a matter of right, this kingdom of Scotland was in no wise under the aforesaid king of England or his jurisdiction, and that the king of Scotland is not liegeman to the king of England for his said kingdom. Again, it appears from the privileges granted by the apostolic see to the kingdom of Scotland, and it is well known to our lord the supreme pontiff, that the Scots are not bound to recognise the legate of the apostolic see upon letters apostolic wherein the legateship to the two kingdoms of England and Scotland together is intrusted to any one. Hence we see clearly that one kingdom is not dependent on the other. This king of England, however, when he had the guardianship of the kingdom of Scotland, took out of the treasury of the kingdom of Scotland public muniments existing in that treasury about all these and other defences, liberties and rights of the kingdom of Scotland, and carried them away with him into England by force and fear, together with many other bulls, charters and muniments about the independence of the kingdom of Scotland, whereby the above-mentioned privileges and liberties of the kingdom of Scotland were confirmed; and together with that most ancient royal seat or chair, of stone or marble, upon which the kings of Scotland were wont to be crowned, craftily filching it away by force and fear, and taking it also away with him to the said kingdom of England. All these and many other things by which he could most harm the kingdom, and every ready means of proof whereby

its right, independence and privileges could be shown against him and the supremacy of his kingdom, and the defence which the king of Scotland had against him, he took them all out of the kingdom while he held the castles and strongholds of the kingdom in his hands, and destroyed them; showing clearly thereby that he was bolstering up an unjust cause against the kingdom of Scotland and the inhabitants thereof. It is believed that this filching and loss of muniments can still perhaps be proved by legitimate witnesses by word of mouth. But, after this had been achieved by that king of England, not called in by the Scots, whatever he may write, nor acknowledged as lord of the Scots, save only through fear or force, at a time when that throne was vacant, after he got his first title, such as it was, and entered the kingdom and, as is well known, extorted the sovereignty solely by the intestine quarrels of parties, how, while the Scots kept always appealing to their former independence, the king of England, without a decision, took the law into his own hands as to a matter and a kingdom altogether foreign to him, by his sole might and intrigues and by force and fear, rashly thrusting his sickle into another's harvest, and then how this business went on, it is impossible to describe, or otherwise to shortly answer what he says, for the case is too long; but the whole world knows how unjust is his case in the matter, on which he relies, if it is brought to trial before a just judge, and if his acts are rightly weighed one by one in the scales of justice. If he had thought he could trust to it, he would by no means have declined, as he does, to be tried by a just judge, the Roman pontiff, that at least the truth of the matter itself, again and again examined in the light, might shine forth the more in favour of the Scots, and that the baleful frowardness and craft which he alleges against the adverse party, being brought to judgment, may be sore chastened by penance or condemned. And, as he is not upright about the truth, no wonder he makes difficulties and flies to subterfuge, seeking, while absent, to render his unjust cause just by plausible statements. For nothing can be more certain than that this king, the author of all the crimes which afterwards ensued, was the first to sow discord between the kingdoms from day to day, and then was the first to fly to arms, and the first to make hostile inroads, to burn, slaughter and wrong, working all manner of evil in the kingdom of Scotland, as the taking and desolating of the town of Berwick, with the fearful massacre of innocent people there perpetrated, clearly show forth. And after his treacherous and most base capture of the said town of Berwick, and that most cruel and monstrous slaughter of eight thousand

persons there made, when women, priests, clergy and all the little ones and the wretched fled in a body to a fine church, the immunity of the church was not respected when they sought refuge there, but the said church was burnt down, and neither age, order, nor sex was spared, but they were all ruthlessly put to death together in that church. Other churches, too, were robbed of their ornaments, and defiled and polluted with the blood of the slain who had fled thither, and were made into stables for horses, alas, after the manner of the Gentiles, by that king and his men. And if, on account of these wrongs and many other wrongs inflicted at the beginning, the Scots should have to some extent actually defended themselves, or, being overcome by grief, proceeded to take vengeance, they cannot be accused of the crime of high treason by the king, whose subjects they were not; nor could a voluntary cession of that kingdom to him be proved, for such is not presumed by law to be made to any invader; and it is publicly known that this kingdom of Scotland had been first ravaged in many ways by that king of England.

CHAPTER LIII.

Same continued.

Now because, from these and other causes and the circumstances of the case, it could not be satisfactorily settled save by the allegations of parties who are present and by the proofs of the stories being given before a competent judge, as they ought to be, and not without due deliberation, the whole matter, difficult as it is, was duly called up by the supreme pontiff for trial before the apostolic see, that the whole matter might there be dealt with according to law; and the king of England cannot, without a clearer reason, in anywise decline, as he is now endeavouring to do, a trial by that see, fortified also by a judgment; and especially because, after he had notice of this cause being called up, he has already twice levied an army and made a fresh hostile inroad into the said kingdom of Scotland, in contempt of the said apostolic see and in defiance of the law, and to the no small hurt and damage of the said kingdom and scandalising of a great many persons, thereby clearly incurring the penalty of that statute and law, *Si quis in tantum* etc., and *Meminerint cuncti*, whereby he no doubt must be deprived of all right, if at first he had any therein. Wherefore, as it is the intention of the Scots to found upon common law, and that kingdom is in-

dependent of the king of England both by law and in fact, and has peacefully enjoyed this independence time out of mind, and especially during the whole time of Alexander of illustrious memory, the late king of Scotland, and, after his death also, during the time of the government of the wardens of the aforesaid kingdom for the six years and more that the throne was vacant, until there sprang up a cause of disturbance in the kingdom; and these continuous periods make up a very long prescription; and it is also well known that this king of England by his own authority improperly burst into that kingdom of Scotland at the time of the vacancy, and by sheer might, force and fear occupied that kingdom, causing endless damage, ravages, massacres and burnings in that kingdom, as stated above, committing sacrilege against churches and ecclesiastical persons, and also inhumanly raging against the laymen and clergy thereof, irrespective of rank, age, or sex, and without caring for a just title, in order to get that kingdom by force; wherefore, on account of these things, the kingdom of Scotland and the inhabitants thereof could only have recourse to the Roman Curia and the apostolic see thereof to obtain justice. Thus, as was right and proper, this matter was referred to the church of Rome, to be tried by the see thereof. But, in contempt of that see, disregarding the commands he received from it on this point, this king of England presumed by repeated hostile inroads, as is well known, to unjustly invade and disturb the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland. The Scots therefore beseech our lord the supreme pontiff, in view of the underhand plausible statements of this king of England, which are partly worn out with age and partly notoriously tainted by the admixture of shameful falsehood, as already said, to deign not to receive any part of that information save what it is proper to receive, by reason of the adverse party's suspicious papers and demolished and unproved statements of old facts; and, since that see has seen fit justly to refer this matter to itself for trial, to deign to adhere to this reference, as it began and ought to do, and hear this whole matter, cause and question between the aforesaid parties at that see, and settle it in their presence by its apostolic decision, as a perpetual reminder, also, to its subjects in time to come; your fatherly regard meanwhile providing for this kingdom of Scotland and its church, thus afflicted and exposed to ruin by that king of England, the timely remedy of the law, to the end that the system of hostile inroads which he has pursued from the beginning may be restrained during the time of the discussion of this matter in the Roman Curia, so that the Scots might safely and freely prosecute their cause in that court.

Here end the instructions sent by the guardians and the council of the kingdom of Scotland to the procurators of the kingdom, for the information of the Roman Curia.

CHAPTER LIV.

Copy of a letter of wailing and complaint made by the barons and lords of Scotland to the Roman pontiff, first setting forth and showing the antiquity of the noble Scottish nation, and their first origin; secondly, concerning their departure from Egypt and Greece, and the settlements they made in course of time while journeying towards Scotland, and the many and countless troubles and misfortunes they passed through; and, thirdly, concerning the extraordinary, tyrannous and cruel troubles, assaults and lawless ravages inflicted upon the kingdom of Scotland by the present King Edward of England.

(This letter ought to have come before all the Instructions.)

This letter is headed: The race of the Scots, of noble prowess, to our most holy father Pope John XII., supreme pontiff of the Roman see.[77]

To our most holy father and lord in Christ, the lord John, by the grace of God supreme pontiff of the holy and universal church of Rome, his devoted and humble sons Duncan earl of Fife, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray lord of Man and Annandale, Patrick Dunbar, earl of the Marches of Scotland, Malise earl of Strathern, Malcolm earl of Lennox, William earl of Ross, Magnus earl of Caithness and Orkney, William earl of Sutherland, Walter Stewart, steward of Scotland, William Soulis, butler of Scotland, James Douglas,[78] sir David Brechin, David Graham, Ingram Umfraville, John Menteith, guardian of the earldom thereof, Alexander Fresale, Gilbert de la Hay, constable of Scotland, Robert Keith, marshal of Scotland, Henry Sinclair, pantler of Scotland, John Graham, David Lindsay,[79] Patrick Grahame, John Fenton, William Abernethy, David Wemis, William Montifex, Fergus Ardrossan, Eustace Maxwell, William Ramsay,[80] Alan Murray, Donald Campbell, John Cameron, Reginald Chein, Alexander Seton, Andrew Leslie, Alexander Straton, and all the other barons, lords and freeholders of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, and all the burgesses and the whole estates of the realm of Scotland, all manner of worship and filial duty, kissing his

blessed feet. We know, most holy father and lord, and gather from the gestes and writings of the ancients that, among the other great nations, our Scottish nation has enjoyed great celebrity. Starting from the borders of Greece and Egypt, and passing through the Tyrrhenian sea and the pillars of Hercules, it first settled in Spain among some most savage people; and, abiding there for a long course of years, it could not in any degree be subjugated by any of the heathen barbarians anywhere about. Afterwards, however, one thousand two hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea, it obtained a settlement in the west, and peopled Ireland; and this country which it now holds it gained by many victories and endless toil, after first driving out the Britons and altogether sweeping away the Picts, as they well deserved, though it was constantly attacked by the Norwegians, Danes and Angles; and it has always kept it free from any slavish dependence, as the histories of the ancients publicly testify. In their kingdom one hundred and thirteen kings of their royal family have reigned down to the present day, without any stranger coming in between; and their noble and deserving qualities, even though they were not clear from other things, will yet be quite clearly brought to light and will shine forth in what follows. For, firstly, the King of kings and Lord of lords, Jesus Christ, after He suffered and rose again, brought these, who were settled in the uttermost borders of the earth, almost the first to His holy catholic faith, and would confirm them in His faith by no other but His most blessed apostle Andrew, brother of Peter, the chief of the apostles, although second or third in order, and wished him to be always over them as their shepherd and patron. Therefore the most holy fathers your predecessors, earnestly bearing this in mind, have endowed this kingdom and people, thus miraculously converted and confirmed, with many privileges and favours and prerogatives, as being peculiar to the brother of the blessed Peter: so that our nation has indeed hitherto lived in quietness and independence under their protection, until that mischievous prince, Edward king of England, father of this present king, an enemy under the guise of a friend and ally, harried our kingless kingdom and our people who knew no guile nor evil, and who were then unused to wars and the clash of arms. No one, unless taught by experience, could tell or describe, or even fully understand, his lawlessness, massacres, annoyances, violence, ravages, burnings, how he imprisoned prelates and clergy, burnt down monasteries, plundered and killed the religious, and the many other enormities and numberless cruelties he committed in the said

kingdom, sparing neither order, age nor sex. From these countless woes we were, with the help of Him who cures and heals after wounds, delivered[81] by our most stalwart prince and lord, King Robert Bruce, who, to deliver his people and inheritance from the hands of the enemy, like another Maccabæus or Joshua, went through toil and trouble, hunger and peril, which he bore with a joyful spirit; and whom, God so ordaining it, according to our laws and customs, which we are determined to uphold to the death, both the inheritance of the right and the due consent and assent of us all have made our prince and king: and to him, as being he by whom salvation was wrought for our people, we are bound and desire in all things to adhere, both because of his right and because of his personal merits, in order to maintain our independence. But, if he gave up his undertaking and wished in anywise to put us or our kingdom under the English king, we should straightway drive him out, as our enemy and the subverter of his own right and ours, and should set up some one else as our king, who would be equal to defending us and the kingdom: for, as long as a hundred of us remain alive, we will in no wise be brought under the dominion of the English. We fight not for warlike glory, or for riches and honours, but only for our independence and the laws of our fathers, which no wise man would be willing to give up, save with his life. Hence it is, most holy father and lord, that with hearts bowed down we beseech your holiness to recollect, in singleness of heart and godliness of mind, that, with Him whose vicar on earth you are, there is no weighing or distinction of Jew and Greek, Scot or Englishman, with Him who is no respecter of persons, and to look with your fatherly eyes upon the tribulation and anguish brought upon us and God's church by these English; and deign to admonish and exhort the English king, who ought to be satisfied with what is his as his own property—for in days of old England used to be large enough for seven kings or more—to leave us in peace, who live in the small island of the Scots, beyond which there is no human habitation, and who covet no man's right, but only what is our own; and we are willing—and will perform it—to do for him whatever we can under the circumstances in which we are placed, for quietness' sake. It is for you, holy father, to do this, for you behold the fierceness of the heathen raging against the Christians, as the Christians deserve for their sins, and the area of Christendom narrowing daily; and you would see how much it would tarnish the memory of your holiness if, which God forbid, the church should, in your time, suffer eclipse or reproach in any

part thereof. Let your holiness therefore stir up the Christian princes who put no-cause for cause and pretend they cannot go to the rescue of the Holy Land because of wars which they have with their neighbours. The truer cause of this hindrance is that it is deemed that the advantage is more proximate and the resistance feebler in making war upon one's weaker neighbours. But the Searcher of hearts, from whom nothing is hid, knows well with how joyful a heart our said lord the king and we should go thither, if the king of the English left us in peace; and this we declare and testify to you, as Christ's vicar, and to all Christendom. So if your holiness should too credulously yield a sincere belief to these false and trumped-up stories of the English, and not leave off siding with them to our confusion, the destruction of bodies and the ruin of souls and the other evils which would ensue, which they would do to us and we to them, would, we believe, be put down to you at the last judgment before the Most High. And now we are and will be, in this and other our bounden duty, as obedient sons ready to please you in all things, as being His vicar, and trusting our cause to the care of the Creator of all things, as the supreme judge, in Him hoping and casting our thoughts on Him, and making Him our strength who shall bring our enemies to nought. May the Most High keep your holiness in good health for many years. Given at the monastery of Arbroath in Scotland, on the 6th day of the month of April, in the year of grace 1320, and the fifteenth of the reign of King Robert.

Here follows the case brought in in the Roman Curia by the procurators of the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland, and particularly by one master Baldred Bisset, a well-known jurist and cleric, against the sophistical assumptions and fabrications of the king of England.

CHAPTER LV. TO CHAPTER LXII.

Case laid before the supreme pontiff.[82]

. . . .

It should be noted that in the year 1300 the procurators of the kingdom of Scotland complained to our lord the pope of the unbearable hardships imposed upon the kingdom of Scotland and its inhabitants by Edward king of England, and, being summoned on that account before that same lord pope in the following year, he did not appear either in person or by procurators, and indeed absented himself contumaciously. Baldred

Bisset, however, and the other procurators for the kingdom of Scotland at the Roman Curia lucidly, in a short speech, demolished his trumped-up arguments, and proved them altogether devoid of truth, and refuted and repelled all his fabrications by most clear and manifest proof, and silenced him. Wherefore the Scots were encouraged, and their guardians, being greatly overjoyed, were inspired with some degree of daring, more than usual, against the king of England, on the strength of which they had that encounter at Roslyn in defence of the kingdom, where the English were defeated thrice in one day by the noble John Comyn and Simon Fresale. Also, at the same time or in the year following, the king of England built the fort of Linlithgow, which is called the Peel.

End of Book VIII.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

Engagement at Roslyn.

After the battle he had lost at Falkirk, the king of England did not for the nonce personally come north of the Firth of Forth; but he sent a very large force, which ravaged the whole land of Fife and all the adjacent lands of the town of Perth, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants of those lands; and, when this force came back, the said king and his men went home again with immense booty. This, no doubt, was God's doing: for, if then, or after the engagement at Dunbar and the capture of King John, he had tarried in the country, he would either have subdued to his sway the whole land of Scotland and its inhabitants, or have laid it waste, all but the water and the stones, as is believed. As, however, he was very busy elsewhere, he could not attend to everything at one and the same time. So he and his men went back, after appointing administrators, officers and wardens of the castles in Scotland, in the parts, namely, beyond the Forth, which part of the country was then fully under his dominion, with the exception of a few outlaws of the nation of the true Scots, who lived in the woods and were lurking in caves in rocks and glens, and who, on account of the slaughter and losses they had inflicted on both English and Anglicised Scots, durst not appear openly in the sight of the people. But at this time John Cumyn, the chief warden of Scotland, and his son[1] and Simon Fraser, called Fresail, warlike men, stalwart and endowed with every virtue, together with their partisans and followers day and night lay in wait for the aforesaid officers, bailiffs and wardens of castles of the king of England, and greatly harassed the aforesaid English, as also the Anglicised Scots, as above stated; and for four years or more

they kept harrying one another with mutual slaughter and divers scourges and torments. When this therefore was reported to King Edward, he sent over a famous knight, stalwart in fight, of the name of Ralph Confrey, into Scotland with a considerable army; and these pitched their tents at Roslyn, or thereabouts, and remained divided into three lines of battle. But, when the wardens of Scotland, to wit the said John Cumyn and Simon Fresail, learnt this, they came with their followers to Biggar, a place about sixteen miles away from that place Roslyn; and, choosing some of the best and best mounted and best armed of their men, these leaders suddenly and nimbly traversed the said sixteen miles by night, straightway fell upon the foe unawares, defeated the first line of battle, many being slain, taken or cut down, and the rest they drove back upon the second line of battle. Thereupon, while they were dividing the spoil, lo and behold a second line, stronger than the former, of warlike men, very stalwart in fight, drawn up in battle array and coming to fight. On seeing this battle, the Scots killed the prisoners and accoutred their unarmed servants in the spoils of the slain; and, being boldly encouraged and cheered on by their leaders, they fearlessly prepare for the fray. They had hardly, by God's grace, at length defeated them, when a third line appeared, much stronger in numbers than the former ones; and the Scots, being no doubt dismayed and somewhat dazed by this, yet trusting to their good cause and to the aid of the apostle Saint Andrew, and beseeching God to help them, had a fearful encounter with them and, notwithstanding they were fatigued with travelling, half-starved and drowsy from sleeplessness, by God's grace gained a final victory over the third line. In these victories the bravery and gallant exhortations of their leader stood them in good stead. Now the battle was fought on the Day of Saint Matthew the apostle, who is the patron of the parish church of that place. It should be noted that the English were ten thousand men-at-arms strong in each line, while the Scots were hardly ten thousand strong altogether; and it should also be remarked that, on thoroughly weighing every gallant feat of arms and dashing exploit in battle in former chronicles, we do not find that it ever happened that so many were defeated in detail by so few three times in one day, without any interval of refreshment.

CHAPTER II.

The king of England scours the country and brings the people (communitas) of Scotland under his dominion.

In the year 1303 the king of England entered Scotland with a very large force, which he had brought with him from both England and Wales, Gascony, Ireland and Savoy—the count of which was there in person, as well as the prince of Wales,—both by land and by sea, in revenge for the foregoing disasters, and with the deliberate design of peacefully settling in that land of Scotland altogether and subduing it for ever, or, on the other hand, entirely sweeping away its inhabitants and leaving the said land a waste. The said king, therefore, scouring the whole country over hill and dale as far as Lochindorb, received oaths of fealty and homage from all the inhabitants, and himself personally brought the northern parts under his dominion. Then, after appointing his royal officials and officers in the towns and castles, the king went about exploring the country, and brought it all under his allegiance and dominion; and he remained at Dunfermline to spend the winter, and no one in all Scotland hindered him, or brought force to bear against him; but he rested in peace until Candlemas. In this year Edward of Carnarvon, then Prince of Wales, spent some time in the town of Perth, and during the whole of this time food was so plentiful and abundant in Scotland, that a laggen of good beer sold commonly for twopence, and a laggen, Scottish measure, of good wine for eightpence.[2] The same year, after the whole people (*communitas*) of Scotland had made its submission to the king of England, John Cumyn, then head warden, and all the magnates of Scotland, except that noble leader, William Wallace, and his partisans and followers, were little by little brought by the aforesaid king to make their submission and swear allegiance to him, giving up to him the towns, castles and all the strongholds but Stirling Castle and its garrison. For the aforesaid noble William Wallace greatly feared the treachery of his countrymen, some of whom were jealous of him because of his prowess; while some, who had been won over by the promises of the English through greed of gain, and others who plied him with many vague persuasions, strove to draw him on to make his submission to the king of England, promising him many things on behalf of the king of England, broad lands and property both in England and in Scotland, which he was to choose at will. He spurned them all, however, like a true champion and unbending propugner of the kingdom for the

independence of its people, and they bear witness that he thus answered those who spoke to him: "O unhappy and desolate Scotland, too easily believing words of falsehood, weakly and wretchedly unprepared for the calamities in store for thee, if thou felt with me what I feel, thou wouldst not easily put thy neck under a foreign yoke, and especially one steeped in the venom of inveterate hostility. One saying," says he, "have I learnt in my youth must be put before all things:

"'Know truly, freedom is the best of boons,'

"and it is a blessed one. And thus you may take as my final answer that, even though all the nobles of Scotland and the whole of the inhabitants should tender fealty and allegiance to the king of England, yet I, with my comrades to back me, shall never to my dying day tender fealty or allegiance to any other than the true king of Scotland, or one filling his place or stead; but I shall unbendingly stand up for the independence of Scotland." That same year the king of England held his parliament at Saint Andrews, and remained there during Lent; and, having called together the magnates of the kingdom, he regulated the constitution and government of the kingdom with the view of holding it permanently.

CHAPTER III.

The king besieges Stirling Castle—Robert Bruce.

JUST after the Easter festival the said King Edward besieged Stirling Castle for three months without a break; and he ordered the whole of the lead of the monastery of Saint Andrews to be stripped off and carried to Stirling aforesaid for the construction of the engines for the siege. At length, however, the warden of the said castle, William Oliphant by name, surrendered the said castle to him under a certain condition in writing and under seal. But, notwithstanding his promise, the king, on taking the castle, belied his word and broke through the condition by taking the said William Oliphant, the warden of the said castle, in bonds with him to London and consigning him to a fearful dungeon. The same year also, when he had taken castles, towns and all the other strongholds, and the whole of the leading lords of the realm had made their submission to him and the whole of the castles and towns formerly destroyed had been rebuilt, and there was no one but William Wallace alone who remained faithful to the king of Scotland; and after he had appointed wardens and officers of his own

there, and all and sundry of the Scottish nation had taken the oaths of fealty and homage, the said king, together with the prince of Wales and their armies, went back to England, leaving, however, one chief warden as his lieutenant, to put down and chastise any outbreaks by any of the rest, both Scottish and English; and he never afterwards showed his face in Scotland. After his departure, the English nation lorded it in every part of Scotland, harassing the Scots in many and manifold ways, and ruthlessly doing them to death with wrongs, massacres and stripes, under the awful yoke of slavery. But the Almighty Lord, the pitying and merciful God, having compassion upon the never-ending miseries of the Scots and the cry of His church and people, and being, as usual, stirred by a feeling of fatherly pity, raised up a saviour unto them, a champion and propugner, one of their fellows from that same kingdom, of the name of Robert Bruce, who delivered them out of the lake of misery and the slough of despond, when they were entirely bereft of all hope of salvation and succour. For, being inwardly touched with grief of heart at seeing the almost unbearable woes which the people of Scotland endured, he put forth his hand unto strength, like a second Maccabæus, and, in order to deliver his brethren, underwent without stint the unbearable burden and heat of the day, cold, hunger, on sea and land, and endured toils and snares and great weariness and starvation and perils, not only from enemies but also from false brethren.

CHAPTER IV.

League between Robert Bruce and John Cumyn—Accusation of Bruce.

Now in the year 1304 this Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, while riding from Stirling one day accompanied by John Cumyn, who was at the time one of the highest in the land, in order effectually to carry into execution what he had gladly undertaken on behalf of the state and the common weal—for he was indignant at the cruel bondage of the kingdom and the ceaseless ill-treatment of the people—imparted what had come into his pious head about remedying these evils to this John, his brother in arms, and, asking his advice and assistance, faithfully unfolded it while riding along. And, although in law, according to the laws and customs of the realm, the honour and inheritance of the dignity of king and the government of the kingdom were acknowledged to belong to him before all others, yet, putting the common good before his right,

he privately, purely and sincerely of his own accord, offered this John that he should choose one of two things: either to reign and take upon himself and his for ever the government of the kingdom altogether, with what pertained thereto and with the honours and dignities of the kingship, granting to him, Robert, the whole of his own lands and property; or that he, John, and his should have the whole of the said Robert's lands and property in lawful possession for ever, leaving Robert the aforesaid kingdom, with the aforesaid dignities, prerogatives and honours of the kingship: that so, through their mutual advice and assistance, the deliverance of the Scottish nation from the house of bondage and most pitiable thraldom might, by the grace of God, be achieved, and that there might be between them a firm and lasting alliance of fast friendship and perpetual peace. The aforesaid John was highly pleased with the latter of the aforesaid alternatives, as at first sight appeared, and thereupon a covenant was made and confirmed by their plighting their word to one another and by oaths and by their respective seals, and secured by their indentures. Nevertheless, the aforesaid John Cumyn, disregarding his oath and breaking his word, kept accusing the said Robert to the king of England by his go-betweens and private letters, basely revealing that Robert Bruce's secret plotting, and sent that king his letters about the aforesaid covenant and league: thinking that thereby, when he was put out of the way, he John would, by means of the king of England, get and hold in peace the government of the whole kingdom of Scotland without any difficulty. However, though the aforesaid Robert was repeatedly sounded thereupon by the aforesaid king, who showed him his own letter about the said covenant and league, yet he, being inspired by God, would always return such answers as softened that king's rage by merry speeches and peaceful words full of tact. But the savage mind of that king, who was very wily and shrewd and always knew how to put on a show of friendship, mistrusted him much, because of this John's accusations; and he was all the more had in suspicion by the aforesaid king because he was the true heir to the kingdom of Scotland. So, because of this suspicion, this Robert was commanded to stay on at the court of the king of England; and, though the king did think of straightway making arrangements for his death or perpetual imprisonment, he yet put it off for this reason—till he could get all his brothers together back into his keeping, so that he might be able to punish them all with the extreme penalty of the law once and for all.

CHAPTER V.

Accusation and escape of Robert Bruce.

As the aforesaid John kept repeating his accusations, at length one night, while the wine sparkled in the glass, or bowl, and the king of England with his most confidential bedchamber men was preparing to get into bed, they earnestly discussed the death of this Robert Bruce; and, after weighing it briefly, he determined to take his life on the morrow. But when the earl of Gloucester, a true friend of Robert's and tried even in time of utmost need, heard of this, he hastily sent him secretly late at night, to his lodging, twelve pence and a pair of sharp spurs by one of his servants, telling him, "My lord sends you this with thanks, in return for what he got from you yesterday." But when Robert Bruce heard this, sagaciously turning it over in his mind, he at once made a shrewd guess from the tokens presented to him, and got an idea of the imminent danger in store for him. So he straightway thanked the messenger, rewarded him and sent him back to his lord; and, when twilight came on that night, he got ready with all haste to go to Scotland. No one, however, knew of this but his secretary and one servant whom he trusted most. Then he called his steward and directed him to make merry with his household and give them plenty of wine to drink; and he shut himself up in his room as if to talk over some difficult business with his secretary. He then had the horse's shoes fastened the reverse way, for fear of the snow which was falling that night, it is said, so that no one might see his horse's tracks going towards Scotland, but rather returning. So, taking only the secretary and a groom with him, they stealthily mounted their horses, and he took the road to Scotland day and night without stopping; nor did he leave off constantly plodding along on his journey towards that country until he was back in his own country, beyond the reach of danger and safe from any foul play at the hands of the said king, under the guidance of Him of whom it is written: There is no wisdom, nor prudence, nor counsel against the Lord, who knoweth how to snatch the godly in mind from temptation, and mercifully deliver from perils such as trust in Him. Some indeed say that Robert Bruce was summoned before the king and questioned, and that he asked the king to give him time until the next morning, together with his letter about the league, so that he might think it over that evening and give him an answer in the

morning; and, as security for his doing so, he pledged and pawned to King Edward all and sundry his lands which he held of him in England.

CHAPTER VI.

John Cumyn killed.

Now when Robert Bruce had come near the borders of the marches, he caught sight of a foot messenger coming from afar; and on looking at him he suspected, both from his gait and from his dress, that he was a Scot. So he questioned him as to whither he was going and whence he came; but, while the latter was pouring out evasive excuses for his offences, the said Robert Bruce privily hinted to his attendant that he should search the messenger and see if he had any secret letter; and, when there was found upon him a despatch from John Cumyn to the king of England about putting Robert to death by treachery, the messenger had the letter taken from him and was ordered to be slain. This was accordingly done, and the messenger was beheaded; and the Lord of all was praised for His guidance during the journey. But, when he came to Lochmaben, he found there his brother Edward Bruce and imparted to him in full all as it had taken place, and how the said John Cumyn had sent by the messenger a letter sealed with his own seal about his death and betrayal; and when he heard that the said John Cumyn was staying at Dumfries, the said Robert Bruce hastened on as fast as he could to reward him for his past kindness. Having found him before the great altar in the friars church at Dumfries aforesaid, the said Robert Bruce questioned him on the subject, and showed him his letter sealed with his own seal; and on Cumyn answering, "You lie," he straightway stabbed and mortally wounded him. He then left him, and the brethren of that church dragged him into the vestry behind the altar. Hereupon up came James Lindsay of Kilpatrick[3] and asked what was the matter; and, finding that he was not quite dead, but only wounded, he pressed him to say if he could recover. Yes, he answered, if remedies were at once applied to him. So James Lindsay, being the cousin and very dear friend of the said Robert, as he did not want him to come to life again, wounded him more severely than before and despatched him. This took place in the year 1305 on the 10th of February. About this time the noble William Wallace was,

through deceit and treachery, taken prisoner by sir John Menteith at Glasgow, purely out of the most foul jealousy—for he never hurt any but the English and never even suspected him of any harm—and handed over to the king of England; and he was torn limb from limb in the city of London, and his limbs were hung up on lofty towers in various places in England and Scotland, as a reproach to the Scots.

CHAPTER VII.

Coronation of Robert Bruce.

In the year 1306, a few days having elapsed from the death of John Cumyn, the said Robert Bruce, then earl of Carrick, took with him as many as he could get and hastened to Scone; and, being set on the royal seat in the manner in which the kings of Scotland were formerly wont to be invested, on the 27th of March [4] he was crowned, undertaking a great task and taking an unbearable burden upon his shoulders. For he launched into a struggle against the power of the king of England and all his abettors and partakers with him in this matter, not only English but also Anglicised Scots, with only a very few friends of his, who counted for nothing in comparison with the others—as a drop in the ocean. His mishaps, escapes and dangers, hardships and toils, hunger and thirst, watchings and fastings, cold and nakedness, snares and outlawries, and the seizing and imprisoning, slaughter and ruin of those most near and dear to him, before which he had to succumb, routed and overcome, at the beginning of the war, no one now living nor any book of history could adequately recall or recount. Moreover, even if one knew and went over his own single combats and triumphs single-handed, amid all the misfortunes and numberless straits he went through with a glad and dauntless heart—the unimportant victories and unrecorded duels whereby, God granting it, he by his own strength and human heroism overcame the malice of his enemies, the present chronicle would be deemed too lengthy: nor, I think, could one find under the sun any prince in these days who is his match in the art of war. I therefore leave it to abler men to relate all his fine achievements, and will not put them in here. He would not, however, on any account allow himself to be crowned on the coronation day until he had earned the benefit of absolution from his sacrilege. But, though we shall not be

able to recount his unimportant exploits and deeds, we have no intention of omitting to put in his greater and more remarkable deeds.

CHAPTER VIII.

Battle of Methven.

THE same year, on the 19th day of the month of June, King Robert was defeated and put to flight at Methven by Odomar, then warden of Scotland on behalf of the king of England. He was called Odomar of Valence, and was at that time staying in the well-walled town of Perth with a great force of both English and disloyal Scots. Now, though he did not lose many of his men in this encounter, yet because of the unsuccessful beginning, which is often crowned by an unhappy ending, his friends began to be sore disheartened and the other side much emboldened. Thereupon all the wives of those who followed the king were ordered to be proclaimed outlaws by the crier, and to be sent into exile on pain of death, in order that they might follow their husbands; by reason whereof many women, both married and single, followed the king, and took up their abode permanently under shelter of the woods and coverts with the army, on whom they lavished many little comforts. In the same year, on the 11th of August following, while the king was lurking with his men on the borders of Atholl and Argyll to escape his enemies, he was again defeated and put to flight at Dalry. But, though here also he did not lose a great many of his men, nevertheless the greatest panic seized them all, and all his men were dispersed and scattered through various places. The queen fled to Saint Duthac in Ross, and was taken by William, earl thereof, and sent over to the king of England; and she was kept in close custody until the battle of Bannockburn. Nigel Bruce, again, the king's brother, together with a great many gallant men and ladies and damsels, took refuge at Kildrummie Castle, and was there made welcome with his train; but that same year the castle was treacherously betrayed into the hand of the English by the Scots, and Nigel and all his people were brought prisoners to Berwick and suffered capital punishment. But Thomas and Alexander Bruce, other brothers of the king's, were hurrying by another way to Carrick when they were taken at Lochrian, in that same year, and brought to Carlisle and beheaded; and all who thus parted from the king were either put to death or thrown into prison. The earl of Lennox and Gilbert de la Hay alone among

the nobles followed the king, and became his inseparable companions in all his troubles; and though sometimes, when hard pressed by the enemy's pursuit, they were unwillingly parted from him in body, yet they never departed from their good faith, affection and loyalty towards him under any pressure of necessity. It should be noted that, on account of these services incessantly rendered with pleasure to the king by the said Gilbert de la Hay, the king, not unmindful of this good turn, bestowed upon him and his for ever the hereditary office of constable of Scotland, together with some lands besides of John Cumyn's in the earldom of Buchan. But, soon after this, it came to pass that the aforesaid king was cut off from his men, and underwent endless and well-nigh unbearable hardships, and laboured and was tossed in countless dangers, left sometimes with three men, sometimes with two, sometimes alone, almost entirely bereft of the help of man. He sometimes went a whole fortnight without taking any food but raw herbs, water and milk, and lived a most wretched life in the wilderness; now walking barefoot when his shoes were worn out with age; now left alone in the islands; now alone, unknown, fleeing from his enemies; now slighted and despised by his own servants, he remained utterly deserted, an outcast from all his acquaintance. The English had him cried in the churches, like a thing lost and swallowed up without hope of recovery, or purloined by stealth. And thus they all made a laughing-stock of him, so that he is said by some to have at times, in his after prosperity, thus spoken, saying that if the independence of Scotland had not moved him to go through such things, he would not for the whole world go through those things or the like again. And for all these misfortunes yet was he not at all vanquished in heart, or overcome; but he was ever in hopes of regaining the kingdom and delivering it from all thraldom of vassalage and leading back his faithful people with joy to peace and prosperity. While therefore he was thus made a byword and a laughing-stock for all, both far and near, to hiss at, yet the Almighty Lord, the merciful and compassionate, who looks upon the lowly and knows the lofty from afar, aided him through the power, advice and help of a noble woman, Christiana of the Isles, a well-wisher of his; and, after many and sundry toils, wanderings and hardships, he got back to his earldom of Carrick and straightway recovered one of his castles; and, after putting to death all whom he found there, he pulled down his aforesaid castle, razed it to the ground and divided the spoil among his followers. Then, being greatly cheered by such a beginning after his long course of ill-luck, the king got his

friends together, who had been scattered far and wide, crossed the hills with them in a body, reached Inverness, took the castle thereof with the strong hand, slew those he found in it and levelled it with the ground. And he dealt in the same manner with the other castles he succeeded in taking, situated in the northern districts, until he reached a place called Slenach, where he abode awhile.

CHAPTER IX.

Rout at Slenach.

In the year 1307 John Cumyn earl of Buchan, with many nobles both of England and of Scotland, hearing that King Robert was at Slenach with his army, advanced to meet him in order of battle. But, when they saw the king and his men drawn up in order of battle over against them, they halted; and thus, on Christmas Day, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, they went back again, asking for a truce, which the king kindly granted them; and, after he had granted the truce, he abode there eight days, and rested without fear. Here, however, after his many and long-continued privations, he fell into a sickness so severe that he was carried in a horse-litter with his army day by day whithersoever he had occasion to be moved in shifting his quarters. That same year '7 died King Edward the tyrant, on the 5th of April, at Burgh-upon-Sands. This king, as soon as he had become a knight, stirred up war, scourged the English with dreadful stripes, and cruelly threw the whole world into confusion with his villainy. In his day he kept back an expedition to the Holy Land by his intrigues; he harried Wales without mercy and foully and cruelly destroyed and subdued it; he subjected Scotland to fearful calamities without a cause, and cruelly and barbarously slaughtered the inhabitants; and he overcame John, its king, by force and fear, and unjustly threw him and his son Edward into a dismal dungeon; he desecrated churches, turning them into stables for horses, pulled them down, or else burnt them down; a great many prelates he loaded with chains without a cause, and some he put to death in loathsome dungeons; he took the lives of common people without number, sparing neither sex, age, nor class, and committed and perpetrated other misdeeds without end. On his death he was succeeded by his son Edward, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Philip king of France. At that time sir John Cumyn earl

of Buchan, William Cumyn and John Mowbray, knights, were in a great measure the most powerful of the nobles of Scotland of the party of the king of England; and these, being joined by both Scots and Englishmen, afterwards fought hard against King Robert, and more than once, down to King Edward's death, placed him in the utmost danger. Now this Edward, while on an expedition to Scotland for the purpose of invading and finally destroying it, was, through God's vengeance, taken ill on Saint John's Eve; and when he came, lying down in a carriage, to Burgh-upon-Sands, he expired miserably without a sign of repentance. In this same expedition an English knight of the name of William Banlister was seized with a grievous illness and fell into a trance; and, while he was rapt in the spirit, he saw, as it seemed to him, the said King Edward snatched away by a great multitude of fiends and taken to the lower regions with chaunting; and he was so exceedingly frightened that he afterwards renounced the world.

CHAPTER X.

Edward of Carnarvon.

After the burial of Edward Longshanks, his son Edward of Carnarvon succeeded him, and was set over the kingdom of England and crowned; and he fell into the tyranny and errors of his father and, putting every other care aside, made all haste to invade Scotland. In the first place he had all the magnates and clergy and people of Scotland summoned before him at Dumfries, to tender him homage and the oath of allegiance. Of these, some did so, but others drew back and fell away from him. On the arrival, however, of ambassadors from France about the marriage of the daughter of the king of France, who had been previously promised to him by a betrothal, he left wardens and governors both in England and in Scotland, and hastened to France without delay, and married the daughter of the king of France at Boulogne-sur-Mer. Then they came back to England the same year, and were both crowned in London. King Robert, however, gathering strength from day to day, kept besieging and destroying castles and fortresses, and in the space of six years he levelled with the ground as many as one hundred and thirty, from a counted list. At this time John and William [5] Cumyn and John Mowbray gathered together a large army and followed after King Robert as far as Inverury, where they deployed in order of battle, and

were much stronger than the said king, who was still carried day by day on a horse-litter as on a bier; but, though he could not get along on horseback alone by himself, yet, in order to encourage his people, he of his own accord made two men hold him up on his horse with their hands, and rode on to the field of battle with a bold countenance, as it seemed; though it was not without bodily danger that he rose and ordered his men to arm themselves and set him on horseback. So when this was done, and the opposite party saw him in person prepared for the fray, they were panic-stricken at the very sight of him, and all turned and fled and were pursued as far as Fivy without stopping, about twelve leagues. But when the pursuit was over, he consumed the whole earldom of Buchan with fire, and some he took prisoners, and received the submission of others, and whom he would he put to death. It should be noted that, just as he was beyond measure unfortunate from the time of his departure from England until the taking of the castle of Carrick, so a more fortunate man could hardly be found than he was from the time of this rout at Inverury until his life's end. For thenceforth he kept gathering strength in all prosperity, while his enemies dwindled away and vanished like smoke. The same year Donald of the Isles, with a great multitude of Islanders, Galloway men and Englishmen, advanced as far as the river Dee, a brave show, thinking to utterly overwhelm the king's forces; and he was there defeated by Sir Edward Bruce, the king's brother; and many were slain, and the rest put to flight. In this battle fell one Rotholand of Galloway, together with many of the nobles of that country, and Englishmen and Islanders in great numbers; and he also seized the said Donald while attempting to escape, and thrust him into prison; and he invaded and destroyed his country with fire. Then it came to pass that in the same year, at the Feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, within the Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, this king vanquished the men of Argyll and subdued the whole country; and he besieged their leader, Alexander of Argyll, who fled to his castle of Dunstaffnage, and who surrendered the castle to him. As, however, he refused to do him homage, a safe-conduct was given to him and to all whom he wished to take with him, and he withdrew to England, where he paid the debt of nature. At this time, about the year 1310, there was so severe a famine and dearth of victuals in the kingdom of Scotland, by reason of these events, that men fed on the flesh of horses and other unclean beasts. In the year 1310 the king of England prepared to invade and conquer Scotland with a large force; but,

as his men were lukewarm in their support of him, when they came as far as Renfrew he took the advice of certain persons and went home again.

CHAPTER XI.

Successes of King Robert.

In the year 1311, after having routed and vanquished all his foes everywhere he went and, for the most part, taken and levelled to the ground the castles and forts which offered him resistance, King Robert twice invaded and ravaged England, making great havoc with fire and sword and bringing untold plunder back to Scotland. And thus, by the power of God, that faithless English nation, which had again and again unjustly tortured many a man, was now by God's righteous judgment made to undergo scourgings; and, whereas it had once been victorious over other kingdoms, it now sank vanquished and groaning, and became a gazing-stock to others. The following year, in 1312, the then very strong walled town of Perth was taken, and all in it were put to the sword, some drawn, some beheaded, some slain in the fight, and the rest hanged on the gallows. But the king was moved to compassion for the guiltless rabble, and forgave them and received their submission. And thus—

"Did England drink the gall itself had brewed."

Thereupon he destroyed the walls and moats and consumed the buildings with fire. The same year the castles of Bute, Dumfries and Dalswinton and many other castles and fortalices were taken with the strong hand, sacked and levelled to the ground. The same year, also, the town of Durham was for the most part burnt down by the Scots, and Piers Gamerston (Gaveston), the great adviser of King Edward the Tyrant, was slain by the earl of Lancaster. And the same year Edward, called *of Windsor,* the eldest son of the king of England, was born at Windsor, of the daughter of Philip king of France; and he was the source of many woes. For never is good fruit brought forth from a tainted root. Through this Edward that most cruel and most heinous war with France broke out. Again, on Fasten's Even in the year 1313, Roxburgh Castle was taken by James Douglas under cover of night; and the same year, on the 14th day of the month of March, Edinburgh Castle was taken by sir Thomas

Randolph earl of Murray, after defeating, taking and slaying his foes. The same year, too, the king entered the Isle of Man, took all the castles, and brought the island under his sway.

CHAPTER XII.

Glorious victory gained at Bannockburn, on Saint John the Baptist's Day, by God's grace alone.

EDWARD, the new king of England, burning with rage on seeing the countless evils brought upon him and his by King Robert, and brooding over his glorious deeds and achievements, roused himself to revenge them; and, having got his whole forces together, hastened to levy war afresh against Scotland. He collected troops from all sides, from England, Wales, Ireland, Cornwall, Normandy, Picardy, Flanders, Almayne, Gascony, Guelders, Brabant and Holland and from among the rest of those who favoured his cause and, together with his Anglicised Scots, effected a hostile entrance into the country, a brave show, with every appliance for settling in the country for ever, and tilling it with his husbandmen. His army numbered three hundred thousand men-at-arms, besides all the unarmed followers and traders and husbandmen and sutlers on foot; and thus, with these men of his, who were all skilled in warcraft, he scoured the country and laid it all waste. Accordingly, surrounded by this proud host and trusting in the glory of man's might, he got as far as a place called Bannockburn, and pitched his tents. But, trusting in the Lord and making God his strength, and asking the blessed apostle Andrew and Saint John the Baptist to help him to deliver the wretched people of Scotland from undue bondage, King Robert, with an army small in comparison with the multitude of the said king of England, fought a deadly battle with him and, by the help of the Most High, to whom it belongeth to give the victory and in whose hand are all the ends of the earth, put him to flight with all his pomp and countless forces. Here the earl of Gloucester and many nobles of England fell slain; some were killed in the pitfalls which the Scots had made; some again, thinking to save themselves, were drowned in the Firth of Forth; some lost their lives in the confusion of the crowd while escaping, some fled, some were taken, some were slaughtered, overtaken by sundry kinds of death, and were destroyed without number with the edge of the sword. The earl of Gloucester also fell there. In exchange for the prisoners not only were the queen and her retinue restored to freedom,

but all the other Scots who had been thrown into prison were released without ransom; and all the others also who were at the said battle were enriched beyond measure. Among these was captured that very wealthy John of Brittany, for whom the captive queen of Scotland was exchanged, for it would have been absurd to hear of a queen being a prisoner. For him, too, was exchanged the bishop of Glasgow, a venerable man of great age, who had been in like manner kept in prison in London by the Tyrant. Note that this war began between Edward Bruce, the king's brother, and Philip Mowbray, commander at Stirling on behalf of the king of England, whom the said Edward besieged, the former promising that, if that castle were not relieved by the king of England in one year's time from then, he would without further delay surrender it into his hand for behoof of the king of Scotland. But the king rebuked [6] his brother for this, telling him he had behaved most foolishly in having trysted that most powerful king of England to fight at the aforesaid term of a year and a day. And so, like a true Catholic trusting in the Lord, he made all his men, before marching into battle, be admonished by the ecclesiastics that they should each one be shrived and contrite and take the sacrament of the Eucharist; that they might thus march into battle armed with the armour of God, after they had all heard mass, all devoutly kneeling before the Lord and meekly beseeching grace and praying God for the freedom of the kingdom. But, when the English saw them, they smiled and said: "Lo, the Scots have surrendered and are asking our forgiveness." Whereupon an old knight, of sounder understanding, answered and said: "It is true they are surrendering—not to you, but to God Almighty, in whom they hope and put their trust;"—who also gave them the victory.

CHAPTER XIII.

Hereditary entail and succession to the throne made by consent of the Three Estates.

In the year 1315 a permanent settlement was made in the king's general council to the effect that, in case King Robert departed this life without male children, his brother, Edward Bruce, a gallant man, should aspire to the crown. Failing him and issue male from him, the crown was to go to Marjory, the king's daughter; and, failing her, to the next heir proceeding and lineally descending from the body of the

said King Robert, unconditionally: provided, however, that she were married with the approval of the Three Estates, or of the greater and more sensible part thereof. And, if the king died, leaving a male heir under age, his brother-german Edward was to have the governing of the kingdom until he came of age; failing whom, his nephew Thomas Randolph was in like manner to have the governing of the kingdom and of the king while under age, until the latter should, in the opinion of the Three Estates, be equal to governing the kingdom. Again, if the said Marjory died a widow and left an heir under age, that said earl[7] was to have charge of that heir and of the kingdom, in like manner as was declared with regard to the heirs of the king and his brother-german, in case the earl himself gave his consent thereto. But, if the said Marjory died without leaving any heir of her body, no heir of the body of the said lord king in like manner being left alive, which God forbid, the aforesaid earl was to have the wardenship of the kingdom until, by provision of the Three Estates of the Realm, they could discuss who had a claim of lineal succession to the throne and should govern. And this they all promised, and they bound themselves thereunto. This entail was renewed after Edward's death, as appears from documents drawn up thereanent.

Then comes how Edward de Bruce was elected king of Ireland by the unanimous consent of all the inhabitants;—but first we must make an important observation on the lineal issue of King Robert from different wives.

The said lord king, when he was earl of Carrick, married Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter of an earl of Mar; and of her he begat Marjory, wife of Walter Stewart. On her death he wedded Elizabeth, daughter of sir Haymer de Burgh, earl of Ulster; and of her he begat King David II. She was buried in the choir in the convent of Dunfermline, together with King Robert, who reigned twenty-four years, and defeated the king of England and his power eight times,[8] at Bannockburn, Biland and elsewhere. Note also that after the expulsion of John Balliol, the kingdom of Scotland was for ten years in a very unsettled state. Queen Elizabeth, however, also begat one daughter who was married to one Thomas Isaac; another, married to the lord of Lorn; and another, married to the earl of Sutherland, who of her begat John, earl of that ilk, who died in England when a hostage for his uncle King David, and who, if he had lived, would have succeeded the aforesaid King David on the throne, according to the entail.

CHAPTER XIV.

Edward Bruce elected king of Ireland.

In the year 1315 Edward Bruce, the king's brother, entered Ireland with the strong hand, and was elected king by unanimous consent of the inhabitants of the whole of Ireland; and he there wasted the whole of the land occupied by the English, and all the English were slain, taken prisoners, or driven into banishment out of the country. His acts are to be found more fully in the book On the exploits of King Robert, written about them. The following year his brother King Robert came to meet him in Ireland, to help him; but many perished through confusion and scarcity of provisions; for such dearth prevailed there that many fed on horse-flesh. The king of England, however, on hearing that the king of Scotland was sojourning with his brother in Ireland, assembled his forces and entered Scotland with all haste. But, while he was thus entering column by column, he was driven back most ingloriously by James Douglas, then warden of the marches, and they were all defeated, slain, captured, or put to flight; and that noble knight killed with his own hands three chief captains in the three lines of battle. Thus the enemy was hurled back, and the kingdom suffered little or no harm. After this, however, they got together a fleet of ships and, entering the Firth of Forth in great force, landed unperceived at Donibristle near Inverkeithing; but they were there defeated by the noble bishop of Dunkeld and the sheriff of Fife and other lords, and routed, many being slain and several out of their fleet being lost. The same year, after the arrival of King Robert Bruce from Ireland, was born Robert Stewart, the future second king of Scotland of that name, to wit the son of the daughter of the said Robert Bruce. In the following year Edward Bruce met his death at the hands of the English through being over-hasty and headlong in rashly attacking the enemy. In the year 1318 certain cardinals, legates apostolic in England, were robbed by one Robert Middleton, knight; and for this he was brought to London, drawn by horses limb from limb, and his limbs were hung up on the most commanding positions in the town. By reason of this King Edward put off besieging the town of Berwick as he had intended doing.[9] In the year 1318 Thomas Randolph earl of Murray invaded and ravaged and made cruel havoc of the northern parts of England; and he brought back much booty and divided it among his followers.

In the year 1318 the town of Berwick was taken by the Scots, after having been for twenty years previously in the hands of the English. The same year, on the 14th of October, was fought the battle of Dundalk in Ireland; and there fell sir Edward Bruce, king of Ireland, with a great many nobles of Scotland. This is how it came about. This Edward was a mettlesome and high-spirited man, and would not live with his brother unless he had half the kingdom of Scotland to himself; so he left Scotland and levied war in Ireland, where he came by his death. In the year 1319 Edward of Windsor besieged the town of Berwick; but, seeing he was unsuccessful there, he soon ingloriously went back again. The same year Thomas Randolph earl of Moray again wasted the northern parts of England as far as Wetherby, and encamped at Boroughbridge at the end of the month of August.

CHAPTER XV.

Papal Bull sent to the king of England about Ireland.

CHAPTER XVI. TO CHAPTER XVIII.

Copy of letter sent by the kings and nobles and bishops and prelates and clergy of Ireland with one accord to the supreme pontiff in answer to the above.

CHAPTER XIX.

Taking of the town of Berwick by Thomas Randolph.

In the year 1318 Thomas Randolph earl of Murray wasted the northern parts of England; and the same year, on the 28th of March, the town of Berwick was taken by the Scots, after having been for twenty years previously in the hands of the English. The same year, on the 14th of October, was fought the battle of Dundalk in Ireland, where fell Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert Bruce and king of Ireland, and many nobles of both Ireland and Scotland with him. He was a high-spirited man, and would not live with his brother in Scotland, because he thought it was not big enough for two. He was indeed a bold and warlike man, and very successful against the English; and therefore all the kings of Ireland elected him

monarch of Ireland, on account of his singular valour against the devices of the English. But alas! he was too precipitate and rash, as was shown on that day of his death. If he had waited until the next day, his brother the king of Scotland would have come to his rescue with a large army. All the wise men say that no dominion, or power, or courage, or surpassing superiority could last or prosper without the understanding of the wise; for a ruler without discreetness and understanding is like a great fire kindled in a house, which soon consumes everything. The same year the new church of Saint Andrews was dedicated, when Robert Bruce king of Scotland was present in person; and, out of reverence for the blessed apostle Saint Andrew, he bestowed the church of Forgounde[10] upon the said monastery of Saint Andrews in augmentation thereof, in perpetual memory of the great favour and victory lately granted to him in the encounter at Bannockburn. Again, for the same reason and cause, William Lamberton, bishop of Saint Andrews, gifted the churches of Dervesy and Abercrombie and the church of Kilgour, near Falkland, to the said monastery. The year before, however, died Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert Bruce and mother of the elder King Robert. In the year 1319 King Edward of England besieged the town of Berwick; but he was seized with fear when none pursued, and of his own accord went home again in shame. Thereafter[11] Thomas Randolph earl of Murray ravaged with fire and wasted the northern parts of England as far as Wetherby.

CHAPTER XX.

The Black Parliament of Scotland.

In the year 1320, at the beginning of the month of August, King Robert of Scotland held his parliament at Scone, where the countess of Strathern and the lord of Soulis were found guilty of the crime of high treason, having confessed conspiring against the king, and had sentence of perpetual imprisonment passed upon them. But the lord of Brechin, who, in the warlike expeditions against the unbelievers, used to be called the most valiant flower of chivalry, only because he held his peace about the conspiracy, neither revealing nor agreeing to the treason, was, together with a certain traitor Gilbert Malar[12] and John Logie, knights, and Richard Broun, esquire, drawn at a horse's tail and beheaded with the others. Eustace Maxwell, Walter Berclay, sheriff of Aberdeen, and Patrick Graham,

knights, and Hamelin Troup and Eustace Ruthirwyne (Rattray), esquires, were found not guilty of this crime. After the death of Roger Mowbray, his dead body was brought thither; and, conspiracy having been proved against the said Roger while he was in the flesh, after his death his dead body was ordered to be drawn by horses, beheaded and hanged on a gallows. The king in his clemency, however, left him to the judgment of God, mitigated the sentence, and sent back the body for Christian burial. At this period, on the 17th day of March, legates apostolic were sent to the king at the town of Berwick to exhort him to deal more mildly with the English and, for the love of the pope, keep from destroying them even until the pope should be acquainted with the cause of their quarrel; and the king received these ambassadors kindly. But, when the magnates of Scotland heard about these ambassadors, they assembled at Arbroath and wrote to the lord pope with all haste, in order to be beforehand with the legates; and this letter is entituled as follows:—[13]

. . . .

CHAPTER XXI.

The king of Scotland goes across to England.

In the year 1321 the earl of Murray destroyed the northern parts of England as far as Durham with fire and sword; and the following year King Robert of Scotland made his way into England with the strong hand, on the 1st day of July, and destroyed the northern parts of England aforesaid as far as Stanemore, together with the county of Lancaster. After he had marched back into Scotland, Edward king of England made his way into Scotland on the 12th day of August with a large army, both horse and foot, and with a naval force and strong body of soldiery, and came as far as the town of Edinburgh with the object of engaging the king of Scotland. His army was reckoned at a hundred thousand men-at-arms.[14] The king, however, very wisely declined an engagement for the nonce, and commanded all cattle and goods whatever to be swept away out of their path and hastily driven off; so that they found little to eat beyond what they brought with them, and almost died of hunger. For the foraging parties brought in nothing at all for the armies to eat but one lame bull which, by reason of its infirmity, could not be driven off with the herd and was left alone in a field. Therefore it was told the king

of England that meat had never sold so dear; for the earl of Warenne and many English nobles fell in battle in this campaign.[15] On the way, however, the monastery of Holyrood was sacked, as also the monastery of Melrose, two blind monks of this place being killed and many monks mortally wounded. Moreover the monastery of Dryburgh was entirely burnt down and consumed, as were also a great many sacred places. The same year King Robert penetrated into England as far as the city of York, laying everything waste, both monasteries and towns and castles, and consumed it with fire and sword. But King Edward met him with a very large army of English and French and Normans and other mercenaries, and was forced to retreat and routed, many of the mightiest of his host being taken and imprisoned, and ransomed for large sums of money. And thus he went home again safe and sound with the palm of victory in the war. In the year 1323 the alliance between the kings of France and Scotland was renewed by a solemn embassy; and also at the court of Rome, by the foregoing letter sent by the barons of Scotland to our lord the pope to bring about unity and concord with the church of Rome and oppose the iniquitous representations of the English, whereby it had been sometime wickedly interrupted. When all this had been happily settled and arranged, unto us a child was born and unto us a son was given—David, the future king, at Dunfermline; and his birth brought joy to the whole kingdom.

Then follows how a queen of England, at the head of hired soldiers, imprisoned her husband, caused many nobles to be condemned to a most ignominious death, and ordered a bishop of England to be hanged. In the same year in which Edward II. was imprisoned, Edward III. was crowned king.

CHAPTER XXII.

King David Bruce.

In the year 1326 the whole clergy and the barons of Scotland met at Cambuskenneth and did homage and swore fealty to King David, King Robert's son, as the future king, and also to Robert Stewart, the son of the daughter of the said King Robert Bruce, in case the said King David died without children of his body; and there also sir Andrew Murray married the lady Christina Bruce, the king's sister. The following year messengers of peace were sent by the king of England to the king of Scotland under a false show of peace, pretending peace

and feigning to treat for concord; but, though they met repeatedly, nothing came of it. At length their falseness was found out, and the Scots entered the northern parts of England in the month of July, and devastated the whole district with fire and sword. Again the same year, in the month of October, the earl of Murray and James Douglas entered England with a strong army and inflicted much damage on the enemy. They afterwards encamped in a certain narrow place which is called Weardale; and lo! the whole force of men-at-arms of England made their appearance over against them in their path, but did not approach them; and they posted themselves around them and hemmed them in, being in number about 100,000. There they stayed for eight days ever in sight of each other, and sorely harassed one another with mutual attacks and slaughter. At length, however, the Scots, like wary warriors, seized an opportunity at night and, having struck down, captured and slain a great many of the enemy, got home again safe and sound. The same year, a few days afterwards, the king besieged the castles of Norham and Alnwick. After these things ambassadors were again sent by the king of England to the king of Scotland at Edinburgh to conclude a lasting peace; and here, after the many hazards of war, they treated for a permanent peace and came to an arrangement which was to endure for all time and was ratified by all the barons, clergy and lords and all others whom it concerned; and further, for the damage and injury done to the king of England, the king of Scotland paid the said king of England 30,000 merks. Moreover, to the end that this peace might continue in so much the more friendliness and graciousness, the king of England handed over his sister Joan to the aforesaid king of Scotland for his eldest son Prince David to marry; and she was actually married to him in the year 1328 at Berwick, the girl's mother being present. Her father Edward of Carnarvon had died previously, and the girl's brother Edward of Windsor, though alive, was not present. Oh, how much pride and exultation there were then in Scotland, after so much hardship, tongue cannot utter nor pen describe. That country for the time revelled in manifold delights: for, by the aforesaid treaty of peace, the aforesaid Edward king of England, for himself and his successors for ever, quitclaimed to the aforesaid King Robert and his successors, and freely, fully, peacefully and quietly resigned for ever all right and claim, pretended or true, which he or his predecessors in time past had, or claimed to have, to the throne of Scotland, whether justly or unjustly. In token whereof he handed over to the aforesaid King Robert many instruments and proofs sealed with his seal and

approved and ratified in full parliament of England. It was in consideration of the resignation and surrender of this right, and as satisfaction for the damage done, that the aforesaid 30,000 marks in cash were paid.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Death of King Robert Bruce.

In the year 1329, on the 7th of June, died that most noble King Robert Bruce, that most invincible prince, at Cardross, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. The same year [16] died Walter Stewart, son-in-law of King Robert Bruce, and father of Robert Stewart, the future king. In the year 1327 died Elizabeth queen of Scotland, mother of King David and wife of the said Robert Bruce; and they are both buried at Dunfermline.

Here follows a copy of the letter of renunciation, resignation and surrender of the claim put forward by the king of England, in the following form:—

To all who shall inspect these presents Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, health everlasting in the Lord. Whereas We and some of Our predecessors, kings of England, have endeavoured to possess Ourselves of the right of government, lordship, or supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland, and the kingdoms of England and Scotland have been very long afflicted by fearful and hazardous wars made on that account, We therefore, having regard to this havoc and slaughter and the numberless atrocities and destructions of churches which in various ways mutually befell the inhabitants of either kingdom by reason of these wars, and the wealth wherewith both kingdoms would abound, from their mutual profit, if allied in a permanent and stable peace, and thereby more firmly secure against hurtful attempts to rebel or make war against them either internally or externally, do desire and grant by these presents, for Ourselves and Our heirs and successors whatsoever, by the common consent and advice of the prelates and lords and communities and barons and earls of the said kingdom in Our parliament, that the kingdom of Scotland, according to its true marches and boundaries, such as they were and were maintained in the days of Alexander of happy memory, the last deceased king of Scotland, should remain for ever wholly, freely and unburdened in the hands of that great prince sir Robert Bruce, by the grace of God the illustrious king of Scots, Our very dear friend and

ally, and to his heirs and successors, separate from the kingdom of England in all things, and without any vassalage, servitude, claim, or liability. And whatever right We or Our ancestors in times past have claimed or shall in any wise claim to the said kingdom of Scotland, We hereby renounce in favour of the aforesaid king of Scotland, his heirs and successors, and forego it in his favour for ever by these presents. Moreover We, for Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, altogether and utterly cancel all bonds, covenants and agreements howsoever or whatsoever and at whatsoever time entered into with Our predecessors by any king, inhabitant, cleric, or layman of that kingdom of Scotland, as to the vassalage of the said kingdom or its inhabitants. And whatever letters, or charters, or deeds be hereafter found, in whatever place, drawn up as to contracts, bonds or covenants and agreements of this kind, We desire that they be held quashed, invalid, null and void and of no force or moment. In witness whereof Our seal is appended to these presents at London,[17] in Our full parliament.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Copy of an entail formerly drawn up touching the hereditary right to the throne of Scotland.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Amen. In the parliament held at Scone, in the year of Our Lord 1318, on the Sunday next after St. Andrew's Day, by King Robert, our most illustrious king, where, among other business of the kingdom, the common weal and the safety of the realm were publicly deliberated upon, it was settled, agreed and ordained as follows by all the whole of the inhabitants of the realm: namely that, if the king died childless, Robert Stewart, son of Marjory the said king's daughter, and begotten of Walter Stewart, should succeed him; and this was unanimously agreed to by all. Also it was unanimously agreed and ordained that, if the heir should be under age at the king's death, Thomas earl of Murray should have the care of the said heir and the reins of government and the charge of the kingdom and the people, with the consent of all and sundry, until the king came of age; failing whom, that sir James Douglas should have the direction and government of the aforesaid heir and kingdom, with the consent of the king and all and sundry others, even until it appeared to the three estates of the realm that the future heir ought to be duly equal to the government of the realm. This charge, governance and direction the

aforesaid persons named there undertook upon oath, when the time should come; and on this point they took the great oath, laying their hands on the gospels, faithfully to do, arrange and sacredly observe all this and each article severally, for the good of the king, kingdom and people, as is the custom for kings and rulers to do. Furthermore, whereas on some past occasions a question had been raised, though without sufficient grounds, by certain persons as to the law by which the succession to the throne of Scotland, if perchance it were not clear, ought to be decided and judicially settled, it was therefore declared and laid down in that same parliament by the clergy and people that the said succession ought by no means to be settled or to have been settled by the custom in force in inferior fiefs or hereditics in the kingdom, if no custom have yet been introduced as to the succession to the throne; but that the next male descending in direct line at the time of the last king's death, or even, failing a male, the next female in the same line, or, failing such line altogether, the next male in the collateral line ought, without let or hindrance whatever, regard being had to the right in blood whereby the right to the throne was competent to the deceased king himself, to succeed on the throne the king the succession to whom might happen to be in question: and this is deemed to be quite in accordance with imperial law. And for the faithful observance of all and sundry the premises in time to come, without falsehood, fraud, fabrication or deceit, the bishops, abbots and priors and the rest of the clergy, in the form of oath by law appointed for them, and the earls, barons, knights, and freeholders and the rest of the community, laying their hands on the holy gospels and the relics of saints, took the great oath of the sacrament; and in testimony of the foregoing they directed their seals to be put to these presents.

Note that a herald of the king of England, at a solemn festival, before everybody, was publicly asked by King Edward who, according to his verdict, was the most honourable, the most admirable in knightly gallantry and in warlike deeds and in governing a kingdom and also in perseverance in battling with his foes, both in his poverty and in the excellence of his might, and in the end irresistibly overcoming the enemy with a force small by the side of the incomparably larger force of the enemy —who of all living that he knew of in the chivalry of Christendom could truly and reasonably be called the mightiest while he lived. So this herald, repeating the remarks of some present who said the Emperor Henry, while others said sir Giles Dargent, a Frenchman, was the most gallant and mightiest and most approved, this herald said openly before everybody

that the most peerless and gallant, the most daring and mightiest in warlike deeds, was that invincible prince, King Robert Bruce; and this he openly supported and made good by many arguments, and he offered to defend his opinion with his body. Hence he incurred the great displeasure of the English; but he earned the respect and good word of the strangers who loved the truth.

CHAPTER XXV.

The earl of Murray is elected guardian—Other events at this time.

On the death, as already stated, of that peerless prince King Robert, Thomas Randolph, to whom had formerly been entrusted by parliament the care of governing the kingdom during King David's minority, ruled the kingdom and administered justice so remarkably, justly, assiduously and creditably during the time of his government and guardianship, that his like is not to be found in the chronicles of the kingdom. He introduced into the kingdom many most wholesome practices well adapted for the welfare of the state, such as that, if a highway robbery were committed, the sheriff of the district was to pay the purchase money if he did not pursue the robber. Accordingly at this time it happened that a miserly husbandman, for the sake of gain, hid his own ploughshare and complained to the sheriff of having been robbed. The sheriff made it good to him in money; but the trick was afterwards found out and he was hung. So this guardian gave many remarkable judgments and ruled the kingdom most nobly in his time. He was at length poisoned, through envy it is said, and became swollen, and was at death's door, when a traitor hastened to curry favour with the king of England by bringing him tidings of this; whereupon the king assembled a mighty army and endeavoured to make his way into Scotland, sending, however, his standard-bearer to the guardian, on the feigned pretence of business, to spy out his doings and plight. Meanwhile tidings reached the aforesaid guardian that the king of England was trying to make his way into Scotland with a numerous army; so he at once sent off messengers in every direction, gathered together the forces of the kingdom, and prepared to march against him; and he advanced to Colbranspeth, where he encamped and awaited the king of England, with his wonted prowess, ready for battle. Now, though he was carried to the place on a litter, yet he bore him-

self bravely, arrayed in golden robes, while above him was stretched a golden tent, as is usual with royalty; whereat the enemy was much astonished, more than would be believed. Wherefore ambassadors and heralds were sent to gain knowledge of the truth, as aforesaid; and, when they saw the guardian arrayed in golden robes and sitting in the tent on a chair in royal apparel—and, though stricken with illness, yet, with a cheerful countenance and with a good colour in his face, and surrounded by the magnates, he heard these ambassadors and had an animated conversation with them, with answers very much to the point; and, when the aforesaid heralds withdrew, he gave them these same robes of gold and silk wherewith he was arrayed; and for this he was greatly praised and glorified. When the heralds were withdrawing, he said to them, "I thought you came hither to hurry on our affair, for we quite expected the arrival of your lord the king here. Nevertheless, return to your lord and tell him that, though we arrived here suddenly and without preparation, and he set about invading us after long and mature deliberation and previous thought, tell him that to-morrow, at the hour of hearing causes, we will not await his coming, but will meet him halfway, God and Saint Andrew granting it." Thereupon he gave the said herald the whole of the array in which he sat and the golden robes hanging about him, and sent him off to his lord, directing that he should be escorted safely. But when the king heard this, he was greatly troubled, and penetrated no further into Scotland for the time; but he turned about and marched home again most ingloriously. Meanwhile the aforesaid guardian, hearing this, and being racked beyond measure by disease, had himself brought over to Musselburgh, where he took the saving sacraments and shortly went the way of all flesh in great devoutness and happiness.

CHAPTER XXVI.

James Douglas carries the king's heart to the Holy Land.

While King Robert was on his deathbed, he desired that his heart should be taken and carried by James Douglas to the Lord's Sepulchre; and this was accordingly done. This noble knight, with many others, ended his days among the enemies of the holy cross. However, after Thomas earl of Murray, of cherished memory, had ended his days, the said James Douglas took upon him the government of the kingdom, as had been

ordained by a resolution in parliament. While he was in power a certain traitor of the name of Twynam Laurison was prosecuted as his wickedness deserved, and withdrew to England; and from England, on account of the seriousness of his crime, he went on to France and, passing over to Edward Balliol, said to him, "Behold, my lord king of Scotland, the time has come for thee to reign; but, if thou do not fall in with me, thou shalt be proclaimed by all as the most unhappy of men. For Robert Bruce, that strong usurper of thy throne, is dead, and his son is a youth under age and could not put any obstacle in thy way: for the earl of Murray is dead and James Douglas, who had been allowed to assume the government of the kingdom, has set out for the Holy Land with the king's heart. If therefore thou would fall in with my plan, thou wouldst easily be able to regain the diadem of thy kingdom, which is thy due. Thou knowest about the death of many nobles put to death at the Black Parliament: their kinsfolk will readily flock to thee and lend thee aid. The king of England will willingly rise and help thee. Therefore lift up thy heart and be strong in thy right and act manfully, and call upon thy friends to help thee, and reign long and happily." And thus the unhappy man, who would never have inclined his heart to such a scheme had he not been egged on by the above-mentioned traitor Twynam Laurison—and thus, proceeding to the king of England, he craved his assistance in the aforesaid matter and stayed with him a little while. Meanwhile the king of Spain proceeded to the Holy Land, taking over the noble James Douglas with him; and that invincible king gained many victories and returned home safely. But James Douglas lost his life there. He who wishes to know more about this matter, let him turn to the legend of the said peerless prince composed in our vernacular, where he will find it at length. The said Thomas Randolph died on the 20th of July 1332; and after his death Donald earl of Mar was, by the common consent of the kingdom, elected guardian of the kingdom, and undertook the charge. The said Thomas Randolph was buried at Dunfermline, in Saint Mary's chapel.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Edward Balliol.

But, after Edward Balliol had thus come to England, he found in England many nobles of both Scotland and England who said they had been wrongfully despoiled of their inherit-

ance at the Black Parliament and at other times; and the chief of these were David earl of Athol, the Cumyns, the Talbots and the Mowbrays, as also Henry Beaumont, a man of a haughty spirit and great wisdom. At their instance they made a compact between them, before the death of the said Randolph, the guardian; but through fear of him they delayed setting to work. For the said Henry used very often to say to them that it would be strange if the Almighty Lord, who is just and loves justice and whose countenance beholds equity, let so just a judge, who followed equity, be worsted in battle or vanquished in war. Therefore, meditating iniquity in their hearts, they had him poisoned by a corrupted English friar, his intimate friend and chaplain. But David was a youth under age when the said earl of Mar was elected guardian of Scotland; and news reached him that Edward Balliol had arrived in the Firth of Forth on the 31st of July, with his armed fleet; and on the 8th day[18] of that month he landed at Kinghorn with his force of men-at-arms, who were not above 500 in number, or thereabouts. He was met by Alexander Seton who led on a few men and who, wishing to offer as brave a resistance as possible, was there slain together with four or five nobles. Then he advanced on Dunfermline and, after visiting the monastery, retired to Duplin Muir. Here an important battle was fought with the connivance of some nobles of the country, who pointed out the ford to the enemy by night, and many Scottish nobles fell slain, the said Edward remaining the victor. They began in the morning and went on fighting until the ninth hour. This is how it came about. When the rumour reached the ears of the guardians of Scotland, namely the earl of Mar on one side of the kingdom, to wit the northern, and the earl of the Marches, guardian on the other, to wit the southern, side of the Firth of Forth, they assembled the forces of the nobles of the whole kingdom, and the earl of Mar was at Perth with 30,000 men-at-arms, and the said earl of the Marches at Auchterarder, on one side of the Strathearn water, while the said Edward was encamped in the miller's acre of Forteviot. The latter, it is said, was bound by a vow to force the said town of Perth by a siege to surrender, and intended afterwards to be crowned at Scone; and he ordered his fleet to enter the mouth of the river Tay. But the said earl of the Marches had about the same number of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom as the other army which was waiting at Perth, namely 30,000 men-at-arms; and, seeing the said Edward had so few in his army, those in both parties foolishly began boasting of their numbers,

saying they would drag the tailed English by the tail and hang them. And thus, sneering at the smallness of their numbers, when night came on they out of ignorant recklessness posted no night sentries, but gleefully made themselves merry with wine and bragged that they would without any difficulty devour the whole English force on the morrow, holding them cheap because of the smallness of their numbers. Thus, being without prudence and foresight, their disdainful pride was brought low by the small number of their adversaries, and thus, thinking they were wise, they were made fools of. For the wise say it is better to be humble and anxious and to use foresight and care than presumptuously and proudly to trust in one's own numbers or courage and break down: as Solomon says, Before destruction the heart is haughty, and before honour is humility. At length, however, the said Edward, being shown the way by some of the natives—the lord of Gask, it is said[19]—crossed the ford in the silence of night. Crossing the ford at Gask, he fell upon the army at Duplin at break of day while some were asleep, some unarmed, enjoying themselves and playing and drinking and making merry, and slew many nobles. He was opposed by Thomas Randolph the younger, earl of Murray, Murdoch earl of Menteith, Robert Bruce, son of the great king deceased, Alexander Fresale (Fraser) and many others. But, because the said guardian, the earl of Mar, who had just come up burning with eagerness for the fray, made too headlong an attack on the army and his ranks were broken, more died by being smothered than by the sword, falling one upon another in such numbers that so sad a catastrophe is not recorded to have happened for a long time past. Here the said guardian and two other earls lost their lives through their own precipitateness, together with many noble knights both of the house of the lord of Errol, constable of Scotland, and of that of the lord of Graham and of many other nobles;[20] and Duncan earl of Fife was taken prisoner, together with many nobles and others, to the number of three hundred mailed knights, besides barons and earls; and those who fell in the battle were over three thousand in number all told.[21] They then straightway marched to the town of Perth without any difficulty or opposition, and Edward Balliol came to Scone and was crowned king in the usual manner by Duncan earl of Fife and the bishop of Dunkeld and others their abettors. At the same time he assembled there the abbots and priors and prelates of the kingdom who sided with them, from Fife and Fothryk (Forres), from Stratherne and Gowry, and they made their submission to him, through fear rather than love.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

King David Bruce goes over to France.

THE names of the magnates who came from England to Scotland with this Edward were Henry Beaumont, the earl of Atholl, Henry Ferrers and his two brothers, Alexander de Mowbray, Richard Talbot, Walter Cumyn, Ralph Baroune and William of Stafford:[22] and all who came from England were not over a thousand[23] persons. Thereupon, however, the same year, the friends of King David, who was in his minority and not able to take his revenge, made him leave the kingdom to the rule and governance of sir Andrew Murray le Riche and retire to France, to the king of France, where he was received with honour. He abode in that country eight years or more, and returned to the kingdom of Scotland with his wife, the sister of King Edward of England, in the year 1341, when he was eighteen. It should also be noted that, immediately after the battle of Duplin, James Bane, bishop of Saint Andrews, betook himself across the sea through excessive grief. Subsequently, a short time after this, the town of Perth was taken by James and Simon Frisale (Fraser), and Duncan earl of Fife, the warden of the said town in the interest of Edward Balliol, was taken prisoner there, together with the said earl's wife and daughter. Among others they took Andrew Murray of Tulibardine, and doomed him to a traitor's most ignominious death. The said James and Simon Fresale afterwards levelled to the ground the walls of the said town of Perth. The year after the taking of Perth Thomas Randolph,[24] the younger earl of Murray, and Archibald Douglas, brother of the noble James Douglas, with a thousand chosen men, assembled secretly in the town of Moffat; and, while Edward Balliol, who had brought under his allegiance sir Alexander Bruce, earl of Carrick, with many of the nobles of the country, both Galloway[25] and elsewhere, was spending the night in the town of Annand, they went to reconnoitre him, and the said Edward, being pressed by night by the hostile pursuit of the aforesaid earls and their retainers, and many of his men having been slain, took to flight with one leg booted and the other naked, on a horse without saddle or bridle, with only a halter on. Here Henry Beaumont, John Mowbray and William Cumyn[26] were put to death, together with many other nobles of both Scotland and England; and here also the said earl of Carrick was taken and

put to death[27] by the earl of Murray. But Edward Balliol, straightway after his escape, went to Edward king of England for help and succour; and the latter, like a base, faithless perjurer, breaking through the ties of the treaty of alliance and peace, and like a palterer with his oath and a breaker of his word, unmindful of his salvation and regardless of his own promise ratified by his seal and his oath, and against his own sister, promised him speedy succour, and quickly got together a large army, being joined by the Scottish partisans of the said Edward Balliol. So in the year 1333 the Scots, fearing the falseness of the English and hearing of the muster of King Edward, appointed sir Patrick earl of the Marches and sir Alexander Seton to guard the town of Berwick; and at the same time the guardian of the kingdom of Scotland was sir Andrew Murray le Riche, in the absence of the king who was still in France. Now the said guardian, hearing that Edward Balliol had approached the borders of Scotland, himself went in haste to Roxburgh Castle and, while pursuing the English too precipitately, as before, on the bridge of that place, was taken prisoner by the English and brought and presented to the English king Edward, who was himself in person hastening to besiege the town of Berwick with a large force of men-at-arms. At the same time William Douglas of Liddesdale was taken prisoner at Lochmaben. But on the 2d of April[28] the king of England settled down to the siege of the said town of Berwick with a very large force of men-at-arms, and besieged that town of Berwick from the beginning of April until the 14th of August;[29] and on Saint Mary Magdalen's Day[30] was fought the woful battle of Halidon Hill, where a very great part of the nobles of Scotland were almost swept away, especially of those who sided with King David. For, when the king of England had laid the siege both by land and by sea, and the Scotsmen had manfully defended themselves inside, setting fire to great part of his fleet and sinking it, the noble William Seton being drowned with the burning ships before the eyes of his father who was on the wall of the town, at length, fearing the king's malice, the Scots inside offered to make terms on the understanding that, if no reinforcements came to them from Scotland by a time limited, they should surrender the aforesaid town to him the king of England; and Thomas Seton, son of the captain of the said town, was given by his father as security for this. Meanwhile, however, Archibald Douglas, called the Tineman, had been made guardian of Scotland immediately after the capture of sir Andrew Murray on Roxburgh bridge; and, being very war-

like and high-spirited, he straightway assembled the whole force of the men-at-arms of Scotland who sided with King David, to the number of sixty thousand, with whom he purposed invading England, according to the decision of the council, and laying it waste and consuming with fire and sword everything he could see, that thereby they might force the king to raise the siege in order to[31] give them battle. So, when they came in sight of the said town, they showed themselves and their banners and standards to their countrymen on the walls of the said town; and then, turning aside without sending messengers to the besieged governors of the said town to unfold their purpose, they were minded to enter England. The besieged, however, being in doubt, secretly sent messengers to them from Berwick and urged them to fight with the English force, deeming them to be the stronger force. So, yielding to their advice, they unfortunately altered their mind and halted that night in a certain park of Donamis. But the king of England, hearing of this, came up to the gates before the day appointed in the said agreement for the town to be given up and surrendered, and demanded that the aforesaid town should be given up to him; and, because this was refused him, he straightway set up a gallows before the gates of the town and hanged the aforesaid Thomas Seton before the eyes of his father and mother and of all the others who were in the town. Next morning, which was the Day of the blessed virgin Margaret, they[32] marched towards the town with great display, in order of battle, and recklessly, stupidly and unadvisedly chose a battle-ground at Halidon Hill, where there was a marshy hollow between the two armies, and where a great downward slope, with some precipices, and then again a rise lay in front of the Scots before they could reach the field where the English were posted, with their troops skilfully and prudently distributed and the vantage-ground well studied beforehand; for in that place one champion was enough to overcome three. So, though they labour in vain, yet they attacked manfully and slew many on either side. At length the Scots, out of breath with climbing the above-mentioned hill, were forced to give way and scattered in flight, cut down and pitifully massacred, killed and taken prisoners and led off to the army of the king of England. Next morning the king of England ordered them to kill all the prisoners; and this was accordingly done, save only with such as were kept in concealment. Now the names of the chief nobles who were slain on the side of David Bruce were these: James, John and Alan Stewart, sons of the noble Walter Stewart and brothers of Robert, afterwards king after

David; Archibald Douglas, the aforesaid guardian of Scotland; Hugh earl of Ross; Kenneth earl of Sutherland; Alexander Bruce earl of Carrick; Andrew, Simon and James Fresale, brothers; and countless other nobles, whom it would be tedious to enumerate, and more pitiful than useful. The number of the slain in this battle was, by the estimate of heralds worthy of belief, over ten thousand men. Immediately after the battle was fought, as aforesaid, the lord earl of the Marches and the lord Seton, being without hope of rescue, surrendered to the said king the aforesaid town of Berwick, together with the castle, the inhabitants being saved harmless in life, limb and property; and they tendered the oath of allegiance to him as their lord paramount. That earl was compelled[33] by the said king of England to rebuild at his own expense the castle of Dunbar, which had been previously battered to pieces. But within a few days afterwards Edward Balliol overran the whole kingdom with the forces of the king of England, subduing it and unsettling it and distributing offices and keeping in the hands of the English and of the Scots who embraced his cause all the castles and strongholds but four, namely Dumbarton Castle, the warden whereof was sir Malcolm Fleming; Lochleven, the warden whereof was Alan de Vypont; Kildrummie, the wardenship whereof remained in the hands of Christina Bruce; and Urquhart Castle, of which Thomas Lauder, who was called the Good, had the wardenship; and there was also the stronghold of Lochdoun, the warden whereof was the venerable John Thomson.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Letter sent by the lord pope to the kings of France[34] and of England for peace.

In the year 1334 there came ambassadors from the king of France to Perth, to negotiate a peace between the kings of England and Scotland by command of the supreme pontiff Pope Benedict XII., with his letters-patent to the two kings, namely of England and of Scotland; but the king of England would not deign to hear them, or even to see them. After this, when other ambassadors of King Philip of France were again sent over to the kings of England and of Scotland, he would not hear of peace and concord between himself and the said king of Scotland. The same year, about the end of August, a misunderstanding arose at Perth between Edward

Balliol, who took the part of sir Alexander Mowbray, and Henry Beaumont, David earl of Athol and Richard Talbot, who were striving to thrust the aforesaid Alexander out of his inheritance and bring in before him his brother's daughters, the true heiresses by the law of succession. By reason of this misunderstanding they parted and went their several ways, Edward to Berwick, Henry Beaumont to Dundarg in Buchan, the castle of which he repaired strongly, and he lorded it over the whole of Buchan; and the earl of Athol went to Lochindorb. Richard Talbot, however, made for England; and, when on his way through Lothian, he was there taken prisoner by the Scots of the party of King David on the 8th of September. But Edward Balliol, observing these things and wishing to be on the safe side, cast off the said sir Alexander Mowbray; and, even as it is often said, "One man going out makes room for another coming in," the said Henry Beaumont and earl of Athol were restored to his good graces, and he infefted the said earl of Athol in all the lands of the Steward of Scotland for ever. The said Alexander Mowbray, however, fearing the power and fierceness of the opposite party, became a hearty supporter of sir Andrew Murray, who had shortly before been released from prison altogether on payment of a ransom. These, then, with their forces jointly besieged Henry Beaumont in Dundarg Castle for a time; but the said Henry, seeing that, for want of provisions, he could not long hold the said place, on a safe-conduct being granted him, gave up the castle and retired to England with his wife and property, promising moreover to do his best to bring about peace and concord. Meanwhile Edward Balliol went about through the meadows and plains of Scotland, wherever he pleased, bestowing the lands and domains on his supporters, and securely roamed hither and thither at will. At length he came to Renfrew, and in royal fashion distributed domains, lands and offices to such of his supporters as he pleased, and received homage from many freeholders who took the oaths to him. Here were brought to him the keys of Rothesay and Dunoon, whereto he appointed as his lieutenants and wardens Thomas Wallor and the lord Lile, sheriffs[35] of Bute and Cowell. But sir William Bullock he appointed as his chamberlain, a man of great wisdom, cleverness and prudence, a priest; and he intrusted to him the charge of the castles of Saint Andrews and Cupar and many other strongholds. About the same time the young Robert Stewart, the designated heir to the throne in the case already specified by the entail, who was fifteen years old, was still, for fear of the

enemy, lurking in concealment in Rothsay Castle aforesaid and was deriving great comfort from, and having frequent conversations with, two lovers of peace, friends of King David, namely John Gibson and William Heriot, then sojourning in the barony; and they found means to take him over to Dumbarton Castle, bringing with them the charters of Stewartland. The commandant of that castle was sir Malcolm Fleming, and he received Robert with pleasure and gladness, and entertained him until he should hear better news.

CHAPTER XXX.

Siege of Lochleven Castle.

In the year 1335, at the season of Lent, sir John Stirling, an Englishman, besieged the castle of Lochleven with a great host of men-at-arms, among whom were Michael Arnot, David Wemys and Richard Melville, knights, and many others who had been forced to submit to the king of England. They took up a position at Kinross, in the sacred cemetery whereof they fortified a position and strengthened it by walling it in with sods of earth and surrounding it with a stockade; and thus, not having God before their eyes, sacrilegiously despising and making light of the judgment of God, they lay there as in a robber's cave and laid waste the whole country round. At that time Alan de Vypont and James Lamkyn,[36] a citizen of Saint Andrews, with a strong force of good and trusty men, garrisoned the castle. Accordingly the English dammed up the outlet of the water, with the view of flooding the castle by an overflow of water, and took up their quarters in the bay at the outlet of the waters, building their dwellings and pitching their tents there; and they impressed all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood to bring earthen sods in order to block up the whole valley where the water flowed out, so that the water should rise to the top of the castle and drown all who were in the castle. But the righteous Lord, who bows down the neck of the sinful, delivered them out of the snare of the fowler; and they themselves fell into the pit which they had digged, and were drowned in the rush of water. For, as was said of old, like the covetous miser who too greedily piles up his stores of wealth, so water which has a narrow outlet, when it begins to gush out, widens the channel as it escapes; and so it was in this case. The garrison, devoutly trusting in the blessed Servanus, plied him with prayers and besought his help against the devices of the enemy; and it

came to pass about the Feast of the blessed Queen Margaret, whose festival was at that time yearly kept at Dunfermline with great honours, that the aforesaid knight John Stirling travelled to Dunfermline to see the festivities, leaving but few to look after the works. When the garrison heard of this, seeing the conflux of waters which, without some wise measures, they could not escape, and bearing in mind that, as above stated, a trifling opening at the beginning paves the way for a larger outlet in the end, at night, when the watch were asleep, they sent over to the said place at the outlet of the water some bold and skilful men in a boat, with tools to open up the outlet of the water; and these dug through the dam of the walled-up outlet at break of day, making at first a small passage for the water, which afterwards increased and widened the said outlet of the water and overflowed in such quantities that they scarcely managed to escape with their lives because of the flow of water against them when they made for the castle. So that channel got larger and larger, and the water washed down the whole wall of the dam and straightway burst out with such a rush that all the dwellings, barracks and tents of the English and all their inmates and their goods were swept away to the sea by the rush of waters, and went to the bottom; and the violence of this flood gladdened the city of God. But so sad was the destruction of the English there that few of those who guarded that outlet of the waters were left alive.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Same continued.

Now, when the English and their supporters saw this, they were almost bewildered with fury, and crossed over the water to the stronghold in a fleet with implements and engines in readiness to attack the castle; and the garrison of the castle, seeing this, manfully made ready against their assaults; and they speedily came to blows with one another, and many were wounded by arrows and other engines. The English, however, were at length forced to give way before the garrison, and the latter pursued them and broke into their stronghold and divided their spoils. So they returned safe to the castle, covered with glory and bringing with them provisions and arms. But, when the said knight heard of this, he uttered a great vow and declared with the great oath that he would never return from that siege until he had taken the castle and levelled it to the ground and put all who were in it to a most igno-

minious death. When, however, he came to the place and saw what was done, he broke his oath and ingloriously returned to England. The same year the king of England came to Glasgow with Edward Balliol and a large army, appointed the earl of Athol as his lieutenant-general and governor and guardian, and commanded a large fleet of ships to enter the Firth of Forth; and here a very large ship, which was called the Admiral of the aforesaid fleet, was wrecked on the rocks called the Wolves, and all her crew were drowned. When, however, these arrangements had been completed, they went back to England. But David earl of Athol without delay summoned the freeholders of the Stewartlands, received their homage and oaths of fealty, and marched off with a strong army into the highlands, where he took seizin in his own hands of all and sundry the lands and domains belonging to the Cumyns, and received the homage of the vassals; and no one, in whatever position he might be, durst gainsay him, neither was there at that time any one in those parts who durst publicly own himself King David Bruce's man, save innocent babes, who with one accord used to tell those who asked them that they were King David's men—which was a foreboding of coming freedom. At this period Robert Stewart remained at Dumbarton Castle, and could ill brook that the said Earl David should so deal with his vassals of the Stewartlands, which by law belonged to him, and should thus lay claim to his patrimony. So he sent for a certain baron, his supposed friend, the lord of Argyll and Lochawe, whom his father trusted above all others, called Dougall Campbell, who gladly joined him with his whole forces. A few days afterwards they assembled their forces, to the number of four hundred men-at-arms, and with some engines straightway took the castle of Dunoon in Cowell. Now when the natives of the country heard that their lord Robert Stewart had thus entered the country, there flocked to him some fellow-countrymen of his from Bute, a people called the Brandans, who came to his assistance of their own accord. They were, however, cut off by Alan Lile, the sheriff of the country, who hemmed them in on all sides in a narrow pass and, unarmed as they were, endeavoured to kill them without mercy. But these Brandans, seeing themselves thus unarmed and surrounded by armed men on every side, and seeing there was nothing for it but to defend themselves manfully, posted themselves in a stony place and defended themselves by throwing stones with their hands; and they there slew the aforesaid sheriff and many of the nobles of his army by showering stones upon them like hail, and forced the rest of his army to turn and flee in haste. Then they came

to their lord and presented to him the head of the said sheriff, and with the spoils of the slain they armed their comrades; but they asked of their lord nothing else as their reward but to become freed for ever from the slavish service and duty of multure. This was gladly granted them, and they still enjoy this privilege. In this fight with stones John Gibson, the captain of Bute, was taken, and straightway surrendered to him the castle of Bute and did him homage as his natural lord. But, as it became noised abroad that fortune was smiling upon him, one of his partisans of the name of William Carruthers, who had long been hiding in concealment with his brothers in Annandale and had never allowed himself to be won over to allegiance to the king of England, on learning this, gathered his friends and partisans together and betook himself to the said Robert Stewart, who welcomed them gladly and was rejoiced beyond measure. In like manner also Thomas Bruce joined him with his best men, natives of Kyle. Thus his friends and wellwishers came to him daily from all parts, and his army waxed stronger day by day at their own expense. But the youth, developing in age and character and virtue and strength, became comely in appearance beyond the children of men. He was large and tall in stature, very merry and amiable, affable to all, kind and modest and honourable and bountiful; and nature endowed him with so much inborn grace that he was cordially beloved by all his lieges.

CHAPTER XXXII.

His successes, and other Events.

MEANWHILE John Randolph earl of Murray came from across the sea from King David, who was still living in France at a castle called *Chateau Galliart*, and landed at Dumbarton; and sir Robert Stewart received him gladly and with the greatest joy and pleasure. And thus the said lord's following got larger, so that it did not suit him to remain still. Therefore by toilsome enterprises daily he within a short time subdued almost the whole country of Clydesdale, Kyle, Conyngham and Renfrew; and he enticed and drew to him Godfrey de Ross, sheriff of Ayr, and likewise attached to himself his own future earldom of Carrick. Thereupon it pleased the lords and the community of Scotland who sided with King David to appoint the said Robert Stewart and the earl of Murray guardians of the kingdom, promising to give them their personal services and all manner of assistance. But the earl of Murray, hearing of

the foul cruelties and tyranny of the earl of Athol, and how he had thrust himself by force into his lands and into the lands of the said Stewart, grieved for the calamities of the country and, assembling his friends and partisans, went to the north country. Being joined by those of his own earldom and other nobles of the country, he surrounded the fugitive earl of Athol in a narrow place at Lochaber, and compelled him by force and fear to take the oath of fealty to him in King David's name; and he made him lieutenant and ruler of the whole country after himself, so that, being himself converted, he might the more easily reconcile others to owning allegiance to the king. While this guardian of Scotland, John Randolph earl of Murray, was on his way to Lothian, in order to bring over the men of the south to fealty to the king, there met him the noble William Douglas who had been released from captivity among the English; and it would be impossible to recount and tedious to tell all the valiant and warlike deeds he achieved against the men of England. In those days the knight Alexander Ramsay, called the Flower of Chivalry, together with the lords Lawrence Preston and John Herring and the lord Haliburton, warmly embraced the cause of the guardians of the kingdom, and struggled manfully against the English power. The same year, 1335 to wit, the said Robert Stewart held a parliament at Dervesy (Dairsie) in Fife, together with John earl of Murray and other his partisans; and together with these there appeared there sir Andrew Murray likewise—who had been one of the guardians of Scotland and had been taken while manfully defending himself on Roxburgh bridge, and who had been released on payment of a large ransom—Patrick earl of the Marches, Alexander Mowbray and William Douglas, who behaved sensibly and quietly, and on the other hand David earl of Athol with a large force; and, on account of the latter's overbearing conduct, no good was done worth mentioning save in scorn; for, though he stood by the Stewart with love and support, yet he held the earl of Murray and William Douglas in contempt, so that he became hateful to all who were there. By the wary tact of the aforesaid men, however, they skilfully parried his utmost violence. And they came to a wise conclusion in the said matter: for while they were there, it was found that the king of England had arrived in Scotland with a great force both by sea and by land, and had brought Edward Balliol with him.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Same continued.

In the year 1335 aforesaid, on the 6th of July, the fleet of the king of England arrived in the Firth of Forth; and Edward of Windsor, the king of England, had with him a large force of men-at-arms, fifty thousand, who came by land, and two hundred armed vessels.[37] So this king advanced as far as Perth and pitched his tents and tarried there awaiting the arrival of the earl of Athol; and he plundered and laid waste all the lands in the surrounding neighbourhood. But one ship of the pirate fleet of England wrought much damage and foul rapine at the island of Inchcolm: and for this a public and cruel vengeance was taken before the departure of the fleet. The sailors were driven to such straits by a storm, that at the island of Inchkeith they unloaded all the spoils and relics and images which they had purloined and carried off from the said place, and departed after making proper satisfaction and oblation and asking forgiveness of the blessed Columba. So, after they had made amends and sent over their spoils and offerings to that place, a strong wind filled their sails, and they reached a place called Saint Abb's Head in one run, and got back to their own country safe and sound. In these days John of the Isles kept up friendly relations with the English party, and John earl of Murray, who was at Tarbert Castle, used to have many discussions and disputes with him. When, however, the count of Guelderland arrived in the south of Scotland with a strong army to help the king of England, the aforesaid earl quitted the north and moved thence and marched southwards; and, being joined by the earl of the marches, William Douglas, Alexander Ramsay and many other nobles of the kingdom, he fought an engagement with the said count of Guelderland at Boroughmuir near Edinburgh. Here many were slain on either side, and a certain warrior maiden of Guelderland, arrayed in knightly armour, had a bout with a noble Scot of the name of Richard Schaw. On being killed by this Richard Schaw, she was found to be a woman, to the great astonishment of all. But, just as they of Guelderland were getting the upper hand, William Douglas and some nobles from Pentland came up and put them to flight as far as the town of Edinburgh and into the street which is called Mair Winde (Saint Mary's Wynd); and they fled as far as the hill of the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh Castle), which was then

in ruins, and established and fortified themselves on the said hill as best they could, making themselves, as some assert, an outer rampart out of the carcasses of the horses killed. Being, however, overwhelmed with hunger, cold and faintness, they surrendered to the said warden, their lives and property being spared; and, after paying a reasonable ransom, they shortly went home again. But, out of regard for the king of France, their ransom and spoils were returned to them by the said guardian, and they departed free to their own country; and moreover, their ships having been sent away, he in person with some of his nobles escorted the said count of Guelderland by land as far as within the borders of the English marches. Here, on his way back, he suddenly came upon one Peter Perssy (William de Pressen), who with a strong army had been pillaging and was carrying off some booty from Scottish territory, and fought with him; but, as they were unarmed, the said guardian was taken prisoner by the English plunderers who were armed, and was brought to the king in England. The brother of William Douglas,[38] James by name, was killed at that place. Thereupon, when the earl of Athol heard of the capture of the said guardian Murray, he exulted with very great joy; for he hated him, as also sir William Douglas. Therefore, whereas he durst not publicly display his villainy while the guardian was at liberty, after his capture he set at naught all the supporters of King David, broke his oath of fealty and allegiance, and went straightway to Perth, where he perjured himself by swearing fealty and homage both to the king of England and to Edward Balliol, disregarding all former engagements; and he promised to reduce all the magnates of the realm to obedience and fealty to them in a little. Thereupon he was made guardian of Scotland on their behalf. After this the refugees who were disloyal to King David came back, the dismantled castles were repaired and fortified, and it would take long to go through all the tyranny and foul cruelties he practised upon those loyal[39] to the crown. Some he flogged, some he dispossessed, some he consigned to prison, some, finally, he put to the sword; and, in a word, he ordered all freeholders who were loyal partisans of King David to be dispossessed and cast out of the kingdom altogether. And first he would besiege Kildrummie castle. Now there were at that time three magnates of Scotland, sir Andrew Murray, the lord earl of the Marches and sir William Douglas, who could in no wise be won over to allegiance to the English or to Edward Balliol; but they were allowed on sufferance as it were, to lurk in hiding and live in weariness, awaiting the coming of better days.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Kilblein.

But when sir Andrew Murray heard that his castle of Kildrummie and his wife and children were besieged, he gathered together the forces of his friends the said earl of the Marches and sir William Douglas, to the number of eight hundred tried men, and prepared to hasten to the aforesaid place; and they had an encounter in Kilblein forest on the 30th of November, and there slew the earl of Athol himself and over five thousand men. Among these there fell sir Robert Brady and sir Walter Cumyn and his brother sir Thomas Cumyn, who was first taken prisoner and then beheaded. The rest, together with sir Robert Menzies, were put to flight; and he found shelter in the tower of Kenmore, where he was besieged and returned to his allegiance to King David. But many of the lords of the country came to the said sir Andrew, as did also his friends and retainers from the said castle of Kildrummie and a certain noble knight, sir John Craig, by whose wholesome advice all the nobles of the country who escaped from the conflict and who were with the earl, having been forced into allegiance to the English, renewed their oath of allegiance to King David and made their submission to him through the aforesaid sir Andrew. No sooner, however, had the said sir Andrew reached the castle of Cupar in Fife with the intention of laying siege thereto, than there suddenly came letters from the king of France; so he put off the aforesaid siege for a time, and they held a council at Dunfermline, where all the lords and prelates of King David's party were unanimous in electing him guardian of Scotland. Then he straightway advanced beyond the highlands and brought the whole country into steadfast allegiance to King David; and he set himself to besiege the castle of Dundarg, Henry Beaumont having shortly before fortified it and subdued the whole of Buchan. But the said Henry made proposals for peace, his life and property being spared, and abandoned and destroyed the castle and went away to England, taking the great oath he would never return. In the year 1336 the said guardian of Scotland received the submission of all the lands and people of the highlands to King David, and made preparations against the castle of Lochindorb, where the wife of the earl of Athol, now deceased, was residing. She, however, sent letters to Edward Balliol and the king of England for succour, and

the king of England at once raised an army with the view of entering the land of Scotland, both by sea and by land, to rescue the said countess of Athol and subdue the whole northern tract of Scotland to his sway. So, when the said king of England reached Lochindorb, he brought away with him the aforesaid countess and her ladies; and, on his way through the country as far as Elgin in Moray, he consumed it all with fire, and he also laid waste the town of Aberdeen and levelled it to the ground. Moreover the English who remained on board the fleet in the Firth of Forth overran the whole land of Fife and Forres, and laid it utterly waste as far as the Ochil mountains. Coming to the church of Dollar, which is acknowledged to belong directly to Saint Columba, they found there the church just beginning to be rebuilt, with carpenters at work upon it with choice and marvellous woodwork; and these limbs of the devil carried away with them in their carts to the fleet the whole of the logs so fashioned, and stowed them in the aforesaid ships, in order to take them over to England for the sake of the wonderful and curious workmanship thereof. So everything prospered with these sailors until they came near the place of the said Saint Columba, which is called the Island of Emonia (Inchcolm), when suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, they sank in the raging waters at a very deep spot in front of the said monastery, so that nothing was ever afterwards seen of any of those who were in that boat in which these beams and logs from the church had been put. This was noised abroad throughout England by the preachers as being a miraculous retribution. But, after the aforesaid king of England had thus subdued all beyond the highlands by fire and sword, and had strengthened the strongholds of Dunnottar, Kinneff and Laurieston, he at length came to Perth, which he ordered to be repaired, commanding six abbots to rebuild and fortify it. These, namely the abbot of Dunfermline, the prior of Saint Andrews and the abbots of Lindores, Balmerino, Cupar and Arbroath, he ordered to wall in the aforesaid town again very strongly with squared stones and mortar, and to a suitable height, with towers and gates and cornices, at the expense of their monasteries:[40] and this was accordingly done. Now the building of this town entailed much hardship upon the aforesaid places: for the prior of Saint Andrews paid two hundred and eighty marks of good money in cash for the building of one tower and gate. In like manner the abbot of Lindores built the Spey gate and the tower which stands at the bend of the water, as a token whereof that tower is commonly called The Monk Tower to this day. Meanwhile the king of England

ordered the castles of Leuchars and Saint Andrews to be quickly rebuilt by Henry Beaumont and his brother; likewise Stirling Castle by one William de Monte Acuto, commonly called Montagu, who appointed there in his own stead Thomas Rokeby, knight, whose arms still remain on the walls of a certain tower; and Edinburgh Castle by John Stirling, knight, and Roxburgh Castle by William Felton, knight. Moreover, when these things had been thus accomplished, he appointed one Thomas Urthred (Ughtred) captain in the said city of Perth; and so he returned to England, thinking himself secure about Scotland. When therefore these matters had been thus settled as aforesaid, there met him at Perth a brother of his, John of Eltham by name, who had, on his way through the western parts of Scotland, consumed with fire the lands which his brother had lately brought back to his allegiance. He had burnt down the church of Lesmahago and slain with the sword all who had fled thither for succour; and he had also set fire to all the other churches in the neighbourhood and suffocated and put to death all who had fled thither for safety; and he had utterly destroyed the people. But when the king of England took his brother to task for this and rebuked him, on his brother answering haughtily, he pulled out his dagger and stabbed him. And thus, in his anger, he left Edward Balliol in the said town and hastened home with all speed.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Recovery of the castles by sir Andrew Murray.

THE following year Henry Beaumont, to avenge his son-in-law the earl of Athol, who was slain at Kilblein, either cast into prison or put to a cruel death all who had taken part in the engagement in which he was slain; whereby much innocent blood was shed. But the guardian Andrew Murray, as aforesaid, hearing of the departure of the king of England, captured the strongholds of Dunnottar, Kinneff and Laurieston, and levelled them with the ground; and throughout the whole of the following winter he lived in the forest of Platane and in other hidden places within the sheriffdom of Angus and Mearns; and, what with the attacks of the English and what with his beating them back, the whole land of the Mearns, Angus and Gowry was laid waste. He then began again in the month of February, and took and dismantled the stronghold of Kinclevin. After this he took with him the earls of March

and of Fife and William Douglas, and took and demolished the tower of Falkland and the castle of Saint Andrews, as well as the castle of Leuchars; and he marched on thence to Bothwell Castle, which he likewise pulled down. For he had one engine, in the shape of a wooden tower, which was called *Boustour*, from which, when it was set up, he would sap underneath while fighting and attacking from above, and no stronghold ever built in those days could withstand him. But, owing to its extraordinary strength, he had hitherto been unwilling to attack Cupar Castle, whose warden was that sir William Bullock, the chamberlain of the king of England, a valiant man. This guardian, sir Andrew Murray, however, in conjunction with the forces of the aforesaid earls, repeatedly in the same year entered the territory of England and laid everything waste with fire and sword; and he carried off much plunder and riches, and enriched his army beyond measure. Now by reason of the war there was a great dearth in the country that same year, and great mortality from the exceeding dearth and famine; and on that account many of both sexes took to flight and repaired to England and elsewhere. In the year 1337, on the 13th day of the month of January, Dunbar Castle was besieged by sir William Montagu earl of Salisbury and the earl of Arundel, the leaders of the English king's army; and, though they were there half a year and assailed that castle with divers engines, they could in no wise prevail against it. Nor was there any other captain in command therein but the countess of the Marches, commonly called *Black Annes of Dunbar*, who defended the besieged castle admirably; for she was a very wise and clever and wary woman. She indeed laughed at the English, and would, in the sight of all, wipe with a most beautiful cloth the spot where the stone from the engine hit the castle wall. The king of England, however, hearing that they had no success whatever there, sent a large army to reinforce them; but their column was broken, put to flight and destroyed by sir Laurence Preston, who, however, was himself wounded in the mouth with a spear, and died on the field of battle, without the knowledge of his men; and, through anger at his death, all the prisoners were straightway put to the sword. The noble William Keith of Gaston, also, with his army overthrew another troop which was coming to their assistance with sir Richard Talbot; and many of them were slain, and he took prisoner the aforesaid Richard who afterwards ransomed himself for a very large sum. In short, thenceforth the English were so unfortunate, that within a short time almost all those, of the nobles especially, who had

been with Edward Balliol in the fight at Duplin were, by the judgment of the divine Majesty, adjudged in bonds into the hands of the lords of Scotland, their life and death being at their pleasure and in their power. The earl of Stafford and Edward Balliol himself had already been put to flight ingloriously at Annand.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Same continued—Black Annes, countess of the Marches.

After this the earl of Salisbury, being annoyed at the severe defeats inflicted by the Scottish nobles on the Englishmen who were coming to his rescue, and wishing to assault the said castle more sharply with more serious attacks, had an engine constructed which in the vulgar tongue is called *a sow*, and brought it up to the walls of Dunbar Castle. But when Black Annes saw this, she said to the said earl, "Montagu, Montagu, for all the power that thou may, or long time by pass, I sal gar thy sow ferry again her will." And with this she made a very large engine in the castle, with a sling, shooting out enormous stones which kept flying outside the castle walls night and day and shattered his aforesaid engine and almost all who were inside, dashed to pieces the heads of many, and compelled them to abandon the siege altogether; and she captured and brought into the castle all their gear, engines and provisions, and slew many. Now the earl of Salisbury had two armed galleys guarding the harbour of the castle, to the end that no help or supplies might reach those within by sea. So a noble and valiant man, Alexander Ramsay, ventured out to the stronghold of the Bass one dark night, unperceived by the galleys, and brought back a supply of provisions from that place. For this he was deservedly praised and rewarded; for on his way back, before he entered the castle, he overpowered and killed many of the foreigners who were watching and listening. On the following day Black Annes ordered a great quantity of her provisions, namely, wheaten bread of fine corn flour and excellent wine, to be presented to the said earl, who was himself in great want of provisions. When the earl saw this, he despaired of recovering the castle; so, negociating through a go-between, he arranged with a certain gatekeeper of the castle to make over to him a large sum of gold in consideration of his opening to him, under cover of night, one of the secret posterns of the castle for him and his army to come in. This was agreed with the consent of the countess, she pretending to

know nothing about it; and one night, when part of the sum of gold had been received, the aforesaid door of the postern was opened, as was promised. But when the earl began to pass in, one of his men, Coupland by name, suspecting foul play, suddenly drew back his lord the earl from the entrance. From the rush he made at him, however, Coupland himself went headlong inside the gates of the postern; and the gate was quickly closed by a falling door, which is called *Portcullis* in French. And thus the earl escaped and Coupland was caught; and Black Annes, standing on the wall, said to him mockingly, "Adieu, adieu my lord Montagu." After these things, lo! news came from the king of England that the deadly war between him and the king of France had been revived; and this was lucky for the kingdom of Scotland: for, if the king of England had gone on with that war which he had undertaken, he would doubtless have brought the whole kingdom of Scotland under his sway. So, on the 16th of June, when he saw the letter directing him to leave all without delay and return to England, he suddenly retired ingloriously, without taking leave of his host. The same year also sir Andrew Murray, guardian of Scotland, besieged Stirling Castle; but for certain reasons, both for fear of the English and because of the death of sir William Keith, who killed himself strangely with his own lance, he left Stirling Castle and besieged Edinburgh Castle. While he was busied there with the siege of the said castle of Edinburgh, the whole community of Lothian made their submission to him in the king's name, and for this, through the falseness and deceit of traitors, both English and Scotch, there followed a woful destruction of the whole district of Lothian. At this same time one Robert Prendergast, being insulted by the English in the castle of Edinburgh, killed one of the nobles, governors of the castle, and betook himself to William Douglas, whom he brought back secretly, in the stillness of night, to the town, where the English were lodged in great force; and there he overthrew and slew the greater part of the English garrison of the said castle, to the number of eighty or more. A sailor of Donibristle also, wishing to bring across the water from Fife some of the garrison of the castle of Cupar in Fife, left them on a sandy hillock amid the rising tide, and so they remained there and were drowned. And thus little by little the numbers of the English kept always diminishing, until they came to an end altogether.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Death of the most valiant and most noble Andrew Murray, the guardian.

In the year 1338 died the most noble sir Andrew Murray, guardian of Scotland, after he had retreated to the highlands from the siege of Edinburgh Castle. He departed this life on his own land, at a place called Davach, and was interred at Rosemarkie. He was a man of great valour and self-control, and much given to justice and blessed in works of mercy and the service of God; and he secured to King David's sovereignty all the castles and strongholds north of the Firth of Forth but Perth and Cupar-Fife. After his decease King David's nephew, Robert Stewart, the future king, was made guardian of Scotland. Though a young man, he bore himself like an old man against the English nation, and ruled the kingdom most vigorously and nobly until King David's arrival from France. At this time sir William Douglas, though not without much toil and trouble, drove out the English and restored the whole of Teviotdale to the king's sovereignty; and, on account of his prowess, Henry of Derby and Lancaster commended him highly and desired to see him, and longed to have an encounter with him hand to hand. This indeed did take place; but Douglas was wounded in the hand by the breaking of his own spear, and could not complete the stated number of tilts. Afterwards, however, they appointed a time and place at Berwick, against sir Alexander Ramsay, then a most famous knight, twenty a side. There each chose a partner, and they went through three knightly tilts; and there fell dead two knights of England and one of Scotland, whose name was John Hay, a most noble squire. But one Scottish knight, William Ramsay by name, ran an Englishman through the head and brain and pierced through both sides of his helmet; and, when the latter had confessed himself and the lance was pulled out, he gave up the ghost in harness. At that moment an Englishman called upon sir Patrick Graham for three knightly tilts; and the said Patrick, in reply, said to him in jest and pleasantry, " My brother, if you want to have a bout with me, prepare to sup with Christ to-morrow." And it came about as was spoken in jest but prophetically; for at the first thrust the Englishman was run through the body and died. Now sir William Douglas in his time suffered much at the hands of those villainous English and Anglicised Scots for the sake of the independence of Scotland. In the year 1339,

the town of Perth was besieged by Robert Stewart, then guardian of Scotland, who had with him the earls of Ross, of March, Murray, lord of Clydesdale,[40a] and William Keith of Gaston, with many others. Thomas Uther (Ughtred) was the warden of that town, and he had with him a good many Scottish adherents of Edward Balliol. At the same time came William Douglas from France, having been sent over by King David with certain armed vessels; and they entered the mouth of the Tay, and blockaded the entrance to the river, thus rendering great assistance. He also brought with him two able knights, to wit Giles Hay and John Bruce. Meanwhile able envoys were sent to William Bullock, warden of Cupar Castle and chamberlain and treasurer of Scotland on behalf of Edward Balliol; and, on money being given him and an estate promised him, the castle was surrendered, and he and his men became the liege men of the said lord King David; and he even joined Robert, the guardian of Scotland, in the siege of Perth with all his forces. In the end, after many hazards, they gained possession of the town by a friendly treaty, and the English were sent off to their own country. The following year there was great dearth and scarcity of provisions in Scotland; and it is said that some took up their quarters in caves and fed on forbidden beasts, like dogs;—and even on children and women, as for instance in the case of one, Criste Cleik by name, who, with his beldame, killed and ate many children and women. But in the end they died, being publicly handed over to justice and put to an ignominious death.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Siege of Stirling.

Robert Stewart, therefore, after he had recovered the town of Perth, besieged and took Stirling Castle, in which, as already stated, was Rokeby, who, despairing of succour, seeing that such a war had broken out in France, made an arrangement as to his life and property being spared, and withdrew into England. The wardenship of this castle he bestowed upon a certain Maurice Murray, the lord of Clydesdale. Thus he marched through all parts of the kingdom, bringing back in a short time the whole of the country to King David's allegiance and sovereignty, but mercifully forgiving those Anglicised Scots who had been forced into allegiance to Edward Balliol. He entirely prevented the poor from being oppressed by the powerful, he fostered the peasants and made it his business to recommend

and practise peace, justice and charity among all men: so that within a short time the kingdom began to improve and prosper, and the church of God and divine service to flourish and recover its prosperity in religious and other orders of divine worship. Thus, through the prowess of Andrew Murray and the energy and diligence of Robert Stewart, the kingdom was, in a little while, advanced in every excellence of justice and husbandry, and freed from the yoke of the English, except only Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Lochmaben and some little towers of moderate powers of resistance. In the year 1341 Edinburgh Castle was cleverly taken by William Douglas and William Bullock, by means of a mariner named Walter Curry, with whom the lords William Douglas and William Bullock, together with William Fresail and Joachim Kinbuck, agreed that he should take with him a number of tried men and post himself at Inchkeith in his vessel. Then he was to betake himself in person to the commandant of Edinburgh and say he was a merchant and had come from England, in the interest of Edward Balliol and the king of England, to his assistance with supplies of very good wine and corn. Accordingly he there and then showed him a sample of the wine and corn to see and try, and vowed he would freely give one cask of wine and another of corn for his favour and protection, that no one should do him violence or wrong. The commandant gratefully accepted them and returned thanks, and earnestly besought the said merchant Curry to come at daybreak to the castle gates with the wine and corn. Curry, however, filled two casks, one with sand and another with water, and placed them in a cart, ready to start for the castle gate at daybreak; and in the dead of night he posted sir William Douglas and two hundred men-at-arms in ambush near the gates, while he arranged that he himself should be with two men wearing concealed armour, and twelve others were to follow him at a distance, as if they were mariners coming in like manner from the ship. When these were seen, the principal gate of the castle was opened without delay, the cart passed in, and the gatekeepers were put to the sword on the spot. Thereupon the twelve others hastened up and gave the alarm to William Douglas and his army with the sound of a horn; and until he came up they hotly defended the gates, keeping them open, and slaying many. Then they marched right in, stabbed and killed many, and thrust others as prisoners into the dungeons of that place. Whereat the townsfolk of that town rejoiced greatly, for they had long been kept in subjection. So he entrusted the castle to the custody

of William Douglas, his illegitimate brother, and went off to deliver other places. In this day flourished the noble knight Alexander Ramsay who, with others, his dependents, performed many brilliant exploits this side of the Forth on behalf of King David. The same year the earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner in France and, by the favour of the king of France, freely given in exchange for the earl of Murray, who had been captured while escorting the count of Guelderland to England. After his ransom, he and William Douglas and Alexander Ramsay peacefully governed the three borders of the marches with honour and great distinction, until the arrival of King David from France.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

King David's return from France—His acts in the beginning of his rule.

In the year 1342, peace and peaceful prosperity having been restored in the kingdom of Scotland, the guardians of the kingdom determined to send over an embassy to France for their king; and the king of France sent him over to his own country in fitting state, with two barges admirably armed and equipped. So King David and his wife Joan, sister of the king of England, landed safe and sound at Inverbervy, on the 2d of June; and all were gladdened by his arrival, and rejoiced with exceeding great joy, lighting bonfires and holding banquets in his honour with joy. The same year, on the 30th of March, sir Alexander Ramsay took Roxburgh Castle by scaling it stealthily by night; and for this reason King David conferred upon him the wardenship thereof, and put the whole of Teviotdale under his rule, and made him sheriff. On account of this office, however, William Douglas held the said Alexander Ramsay in deadly hatred. But King David, now growing into manhood and waxing strong, on his first arrival in Scotland three times made a hostile raid into England, and wrought much mischief. The first time he laid it waste as far as the town of Penrith. Entering a second time, he girded some knights with the belt of knighthood, namely Stewart, Eglinton, Boyd, Craigie and Foularton; and these were afterwards taken prisoners, and ransomed for large sums of gold. Again a third time he entered England, in like manner doing much damage,[41] and got off safely. Wherefore, encouraged by these three raids, he thought he would subdue unto himself by force the whole country up to the river Humber. The same year, on the 20th of June, while sir Alexander Ramsay,

wishing to hold a court of the sheriffdom of Teviotdale, was awaiting at Hawick the coming of those summoned, there came upon him that imp of envy, William Douglas, with no small force of men-at-arms, and wounded him, who thought no evil of him; and he carried him off with him and threw him into prison till he died. On account of this the king was very angry with the said William Douglas, both because he had done this sacrilege in a church, violating and defiling it, and also because he had thus put to death an officer and councillor of his, in contempt of his majesty. Nevertheless in this the wise did much blame the king's fickleness and changeableness, as also his thoughtlessness and carelessness; for he had given the said office of the sheriffship first to the said William Douglas, and afterwards to the aforesaid Alexander Ramsay, without any cause of forfeiture of the said William Douglas;—whereby wise and prudent men were very much afraid of evil consequences befalling the said kingdom, even to the length of such flagrant cases as the above; for few were the things he did with mature deliberation, with the advice of the wise; but his proceedings were often headstrong and on his own opinion, without advice, as afterwards appeared. For the death of this Alexander gave rise to deadly warfare and endless feuds and ill-feeling among the lords of the kingdom; so that, from the highest to the lowest, the whole country was disturbed by daily slaughter on either side, and the friends of either party would, like enemies, in turn murder each other and fall by cruel deaths by the sword. Sir William Bullock, again, who had done much good in the country, was, out of jealousy because he was wealthy, arrested through the injurious reports of envious men and the king's easy credulity, and imprisoned at Lochindorb. After having been made King David's confidential counsellor and chamberlain, he died of hunger like Alexander Ramsay; and from that moment the kingdom, which was then in the highest prosperity, gradually sank from bad to worse, and fell into wretched poverty and want. For in those days there was a very great pestilence among cocks and hens, so that no one dared eat domestic poultry, for they were looked upon as leprous throughout almost the whole kingdom.

CHAPTER XL.

Cressy—Battle of Durham in Scotland.[42]

In the year 1346 Philip of Valois, king of France, wrote to King David in Scotland beseeching him, as his dear and allied

brother and friend, to make war with all his forces against the king of England on the marches of Scotland; for he would find him, as it were his own man, ready to help him in like manner in all his difficulties. So King David assembled his forces and held a council at Perth; and he gathered together a large army from all parts of the kingdom. Now the earl of Ross was lodged in Elcho monastery, while Ranald lord of the Isles was likewise near thereabouts; and there existed an ancient feud between them. So the said earl of Ross sent some retainers of his in the dead of night, and caused the aforesaid Ranald and seven nobles, friends of his, who were in bed overcome by drowsiness, to be put to death; and he at once returned to his own country, and would not pass on with the king any further. Whereupon the king was very angry, and his wrath was kindled to revenge the misdeed; yet, nevertheless, he was so warmly bent upon the enterprise he had undertaken, that he would not retreat, though he was advised to the contrary by his friends; but he pressed on to the English marches with no small force, and took the stronghold of Liddel and the warden thereof, and levelled the stronghold itself with the ground. Notwithstanding this, however, the king was still counselled by the advice of William Douglas, in view of the unfortunate murder of the said lord of the Isles, to return and exact reparation for the said wrong before he penetrated any further into England. But this he briefly refused utterly to do; and, contrary to every opinion of the wise and prudent and of men experienced in war, he rashly determined to enter England, being actuated rather by thoughtlessness than by prudence, and egged on and inflamed by the advice of some inexperienced youths who said, "The king of England and all his trusty men are now in France, and there is no one left in England but monks and priests, workmen and peasants; therefore we shall easily be able to pass through the whole country as far as London." For it was the truth that King Edward of Windsor and his son Edward Prince of Wales, with their whole force, were engaged in war in France, being opposed by the king of France, likewise with his whole force, and with the kings of Bohemia and Maillegre (Majorca), who had come to his assistance with a good many of their friends. Now these had an encounter in a certain level place near the forest of Cressy in Normandy, where these two kings and many nobles of France were taken prisoners, and many were slain, while Philip king of France was put to flight. The king of Scotland, therefore, unwilling to fall in with the advice of trusty men, but, as already said, inflamed

by youthful counsels, entered the territory of England and laid it waste as far as the city of Durham, destroying everything with fire and sword. It is said that Saint Cuthbert appeared to him in the spirit, asking and warning him not to enter his lands with his army, lest he should chance to rue it. He, however, heeded not the vision, nor gave up the enterprise; but he went on in his wickedness for a fortnight and more, thinking the kingdom of England was quite drained of men-at-arms. But he found out his mistake, through ill-luck and his youthful counsels. For, while thus entering, invading and destroying church lands, no sooner had he come as far as the park of Beaurepair, near Durham, and posted his army there, than he came upon the bishop of Durham, on the 16th of October, with many other nobles and prelates of the district who had flocked to him in very great numbers, such as Henry Percy,[43] John Mowbray, Ralph Neville, the lords Ferrers, Rokeby, Lucy, Coupland and Ogle, with a good many other knights, newly marshalled and ready for him. These were shortly to have gone off to France to reinforce the king of England; but, on hearing the news of his coming, they put off their expedition, and had, when requested, at once turned back to help the said lords. So they were posted with the aforesaid chiefs in Auckland Park, about six miles distant from the other park of Beaurepair, where King David was with his army. But the king in person lodged the whole of that night in the manor of the said place of Beaurepair, and next morning, at break of day, he sent off sir William Douglas, who was unaware of their gathering, to plunder the whole country with a certain force of men-at-arms, and bring in the booty to his army. The English chiefs, however, straining every nerve in preparation for the fray, chose as the field of battle a moor near Durham, called Beaurepair Moor; while the others appointed no guard of sentries that night, sleeping unconcernedly through all that night in the aforesaid park, and thinking to lay waste the whole land on the morrow, without any misgiving that they might come upon any fighting force. The English chiefs, on the other hand, had marshalled their men in three lines of battle overnight, so that in the morning they were drawn up for battle without any confusion. William Douglas, however, being unaware of the approach of the English, hastened early in the morning with his band, as had been arranged overnight, to plunder and ravage the country, and suddenly found himself unawares almost in the middle of the English army; and when the leading horsemen perceived the enemy drawn up in three lines of battle and ready for the fray, they hastily returned to

King David and showed him how it was. So he quickly deployed in order of battle in like manner, dividing his men into three bodies, and at once marched on to the field without delay. In the first line was the king in person; in the second the earl of Murray and William Douglas; and in the third the earl of the Marches with the Steward of Scotland. The English, however, first attacked the earl of Murray and, not without immense slaughter, defeated and slew him; and there fell there with him many noble and gallant men. Then a very large body of fighting men, among whom were ten thousand archers of the chosen bowmen of England, attacked the king, who was among hedges and ditched land; and here many were taken, killed and put to death on both sides, and King David was taken by the same before-mentioned Coupland, who lost two of his front teeth from a blow the king dealt him; while the king was severely wounded by two arrows, the heads of which could not be extracted until he promised to go on a pilgrimage to Saint Monan. So, after many had been slain, taken and put to the sword, and others put to flight, the king was taken prisoner. But the earl of the Marches and the Steward of Scotland, the king's nephew, seeing what had happened, and having no hope of doing any good by waiting, returned home in safety with many men. All men with one accord laid the blame of this victory on the plundering of churches. Now together with him there were taken the earls of Fife, Sutherland, Wigtown and Menteith; which earl of Menteith was afterwards drawn by horses and put to a cruel death. And there were taken also William Douglas, Walter Haliburton and many other nobles and barons of Scotland, whose ransoms brought great poverty and scarcity of money on Scotland. And there were slain John Randolph earl of Murray, the earl of Strathern, Gilbert de la Hay, Constable of Scotland, as well as the Marshal of Scotland, the Chamberlain of Scotland, the Chancellor of Scotland, the lord Lindsay, Roger Cameron, Gilbert lord of Inchmartin, William Fresail, Andrew Buttergask, John Bonneville, Michael Scot, all the foregoing being valiant knights, together with many others whose names I do not know. Therefore kings and princes should follow the soundest and ripest counsels in their kingdom, and not yield to the advice of young men, lest haply they repent in the end, when they cannot mend matters. Soon after, in the year 1349, there broke out a universal pestilence almost throughout the whole world, which lasted a great many years in Scotland, such as is never recorded in history to have happened since the world was made. Nearly a third of the population perished in it. It

attacked the common people chiefly, not the great. They were attacked with inflammation, and lingered barely four-and-twenty hours. The sovereign remedy is to pay vows to Saint Sebastian, as appears more clearly in the Legend of his Life.

CHAPTER XLI.

William Douglas slain.

Here we observe in passing that afterwards, in the year 1353, died Matilda Bruce, wife of Thomas Isaac and sister of King David. She had two daughters, the elder of whom married John of Lorn, lord of that ilk, who of her begat sons and daughters; while the younger daughter died at Stirling without issue. The others have been spoken of above. But William Douglas, while out hunting in Ettrick forest, was killed by his own cousin William Douglas, out of revenge, it is said, for the murder both of Alexander Ramsay and of David Berclay, and also out of thirst for power, for he was the lord afterwards. In the year 1355 the king of France sent over to the guardians of Scotland forty thousand moutons d'or, that they might make no peace or truce in any wise with the English without consulting him. This was agreed to, and the gold was divided among the great men of the kingdom; whence there afterwards ensued great havoc in Lothian by the English. In the same year, 1355, Patrick earl of Dunbar and Sir William Douglas, lord of that ilk, and William Ramsay of Dalhousie, wishing to take vengeance on England for the aforesaid mischiefs, arranged that the said earl and the said William Ramsay should seize some booty in England and carry it off to Scotland, up to a certain spot where the said William Douglas would lie hidden in ambush awaiting their arrival. This was accordingly done; and the English, pursuing the booty in great numbers, and knowing nothing of the said William Douglas, came as far as a certain spot which is called Nesbit, where they were defeated by the aforesaid lords of Scotland, and were captured, slain and massacred and beaten back and most hopelessly routed. Moreover a Frenchman who had bought some of the English, and paid their ransom, had them publicly beheaded in revenge for a brother of his who had been killed in France. Of the English many nobles were captured, and were ransomed for large sums of money; while, of the Scots, John Haliburton, a valiant man, was slain. The same year, about Hallowmas, Thomas Stewart earl of Angus with a mighty arm and with a strong hand went by sea in some vessels at night and took the

town of Berwick by escalade, after killing the watchmen and sentries; and he found and recovered great riches there. But the English who were there and the townspeople and merchants leapt out off the walls and escaped, while some of them ran to the castle through the Douglas Tower and were saved. This successful attack on the town was made near the Cowzet (Cowgate). The first who mounted the scaling ladders was William Towers, with some other brave men; and it was with the utmost difficulty and after a great struggle that they gained the victory. In the encounter were slain the son of Robert Ogle and many others on the side of the English. John Coupland indeed assembled the forces of the marches, and thought to reinforce the castle and recover the town from thence. But he prevailed not against them. The Scots, with some of the Frenchmen who had erewhile brought the gold, manfully defended the castle;[44] and they held the Douglas Tower and remained undisputed masters of the town. Sir Giles de Garancières was the commander of the French; and Robert Stewart, after garrisoning the town, took him away with him and rewarded him splendidly and treated him with honour.

CHAPTER XLII.

The king of England arrives in Scotland after the taking of Berwick—The Balliols resign to the king of England their pretended right.

In the year 1355, on the 1st of February, Edward of Windsor, chafing at the capture of Berwick, assembled an army and prepared to besiege the said town. But, when the garrison of the town saw this, they feared they could not defend the town, for many reasons;—first, because there were few able-bodied men supplied with arms; secondly, because they had no provisions; thirdly, because they feared the said king's ungovernable ferocity; fourthly, because they had no hope of any succour reaching them from their own chiefs. They therefore took the wisest course, and treated for an agreement for the surrender of the town, their lives and property being spared, and with a free pass to return to their own country; and they surrendered the town to the king of England, and went home again, enriched with the wealth of the English. After this Edward Balliol broke out in the following words before the king of England, then at Roxburgh, and said, "Most excellent prince, and most mighty above all mortals of the present day, I do here before all your chivalry, entirely, fully, altogether and

absolutely resign, yield, give and relinquish to you all my right which I have, claim, or may hereafter have to the throne of Scotland, to the end that you may avenge me of mine enemies, those infamous Scots, who ruthlessly cast me off that I should not reign over them. In proof whereof I will here with my own hand, in token of the said resignation and gift, hand over to you, in the presence of all, the royal crown, the sceptre, together with some earth and a stone of the said land of Scotland, in token of possession and investiture, that you may acquire in perpetuity the kingdom formerly my due." Upon this it should be remarked, first, that he had no right to it originally, as was seen above; and, if he had any right, he there publicly renounced and resigned that right, which, even though he had been the true king, he could by no means renounce or resign without the consent of the three estates, and that into the hands of him who should have the power of instituting another, which the king of England could not have, as he had formerly entirely, purely and simply resigned and quitclaimed all his right, pretended or true, as was seen above; nor, even if he had been the true king, could he have resigned without the superior's consent. Also, as was shown above, several kings of England had resigned into the hands of the king of Scotland, following upon discussion and a bond, all their pretended right, as aforesaid. The king of England, however, burning with fury, entered the land of Scotland in hostile wise, thanking the said Edward Balliol without measure for so magnificent a gift; and he arrived as far as the town of Haddington with a multitude of men-at-arms, ruthlessly harrying the land of Lothian, and burned down the town of Haddington and the friars' monastery, and destroyed the surrounding country, wasting it with fire and sword. But, as he did not see his fleet, which was tossed about and blown away and distressed by a gale, come to him with provisions in his time of need, he went his way through the heart of Lothian, wasting and destroying everything with fire and sword. He came as far as Edinburgh; but seeing that he profited nothing by his said march, he returned thence ingloriously to his own country, for he lost many of his men both by land and by sea, and gained nothing. It was said of this in Lothian that all these troubles came upon him in revenge for the plunder of the White Church of Our Lady (Whitkirk). After the retreat of the king of England, William Douglas assembled an army and in a short time reduced to fealty and submission to David, the lord king of Scotland, all the provinces devastated by the king of England in Scotland and brought under his sway by

force and fear. He took away from the English by force Donald Macdowell, with the whole province of Galloway and Cumnock and Kyle, and Roger Kilpatrick and the whole land of Nithsdale, and the castles of Dalswinton and Carlaverock; and he always showed himself pleasant and wellbeloved with the king. At this time King David was sent home to negotiate for his ransom, and earnestly exhorted and besought all the lords of the realm to send certain hostages for him to England, as security for his ransom; and this was accordingly done.[45] After this John Stewart, son and heir of Robert Stewart the king, the second of that name, called Lord of Kyle, afterwards Lord of Carrick, and lastly King Robert III. by a change of name, assembled an army and reduced the whole country of Annandale to fealty and submission to the king.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Battle of Poitiers.

In the year 1356 King John of France, hearing that the fourth Edward, called Prince of Wales, had entered the kingdom of France in hostile wise with a very large force, assembled from all parts the forces at his command and prepared to meet him. He was joined, without payment, by the noble William Douglas, afterwards lord of that ilk and first earl, who came with many of his friends and nobles to help him to the best of his power; and the king knighted him while the troops were drawn up in battle array. . . .

But William Douglas was carried away by his own men against his will. Archibald, however, called *Black Archibald*, son of the noble James Douglas who carried the king's heart to the Holy Land, was there taken prisoner, though unknown; and he was cleverly rescued out of their hands, as will be told presently. This battle of Poitiers was fought in the month of September, and was lost through the pride and vainglory of the French, who underrated the enemy. For through their arrogance, in that they were such a host of young lords in armour, they neglected to keep their formation and order of battle, and the Lord delivered them into the hands of their enemies, just as in a battle which will be spoken of later, that of Agincourt. But Archibald Douglas, young and well-armed, was taken prisoner by some who, from his armour, thought he was a great lord, though his friends thought little of him, as he was a bastard. Now when the prisoners came in the evening to their lodging at the town of Poitiers, a noble knight, sir William Ramsay of

Colluthy, was brought to the place where the said Archibald Douglas was, with his splendid armour, as part of the spoil, and those whose prisoners they were said unto him, "See, here we have the son of some powerful lord, most nobly armed." But the said knight, looking at him, said, "Thou ribald traitor, why hast thou stolen the arms of thy lord, my cousin? Cursed be the hour thou wast born. For he caused thee to be sought for the whole day long; and not finding thee in the field, he went out unarmed, and was pierced by a flying shaft, as I saw with my own eyes." Now this Archibald was dark, and not comely to look upon, but more like a cook than a noble; and the said knight, as if in anger, and feigning to fly into a rage, addressed him, saying, "Come here and first pull off my boots, and then go over the field to such a place, among the slain, and look for thy lord's body, that we may to-morrow commit it to a hallowed grave." But the other, perceiving the knight's artifice, in like manner pretended to tremble, and went over and waited upon him, taking off one of his boots; and the knight suddenly took hold of it, and beat Archibald severely about the mouth. But the English rushed up to him and said, "Why dost thou insult a gentleman thus, beating him so shamefully?" The knight answered and said, "He is no gentleman; he is only a scullion in his lord's kitchen." And the others who stood by believed this, and let him go for a ransom of forty shillings. Thus did the said knight craftily get him out of their hands; whereas, had they known who he was, they would certainly not have set him free for his weight in gold.

CHAPTER XLIV.

King David ransomed.

In these days King David of Scotland was kept a prisoner in England, though he was the son-in-law of the king of England; and with him were the kings of France, Bohemia and Maillegria (Majorca),[46] whom, for their sins and shortcomings, the Lord delivered into the hands of the enemy, so that they that hated them had dominion over them. At length the king of England took counsel and sent him over, appointing Northampton to accompany him.[47] They treated long on this matter, but could come to no agreement. Afterwards, however, in the year following the one mentioned above, a covenant was made: they agreed upon a hundred thousand marks sterling, at terms of fourteen[48] years immediately following, and that during that time a truce should be strictly observed between the kingdoms;

and, as security for the said payment, manifold nobles, earls and barons were given as hostages for the king, and remained captive eleven[49] years in the custody of the English. The same year died the lady Christiana Bruce, late wife of the famous sir Andrew Murray, guardian of Scotland, while he lived; and both are buried in the chapel of Our Lady of Dunfermline. She was buried there in the year 1357; but he previously, as already said. Now the queen of Scotland asked leave of her husband, King David, to go on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury and to visit her brother Edward king of England, called *of Windsor*. So she went away to England, and remained there some time, and died. In the latter part of the same year James Lindsay, after he had supped with Roger Kilpatrick and gone to bed in his house, cheerfully taking leave of the latter, who had no thought of evil, and bidding him farewell in the evening, came into his room at night with lighted candles, and without warning slew and murdered the said Roger. But James fled by night, and rode through the whole night, thinking he would be forty leagues away from the spot before day; but he went out of the straight road, and was captured the next morning by the friends of the said noble person, Roger, near the said spot, about two miles off, and brought before King David; and he was without delay condemned by a select assize, and suffered capital punishment. At this time there were such floods of rainwater in the Lothians as had never been seen since Noah's deluge, and they did much damage. At that time also King David sent ambassadors to the apostolic see, in order to get a tithe from the churches of the kingdom in aid of his ransom; and the lord pope graciously granted him this tithe for the three years immediately ensuing, on condition that he should on no account again ask anything more of the church for his ransom.

CHAPTER XLV.

Return of the king of England into France.

In the year 1361, at the Feast of the Purification of Our Lady, began the second plague, and it raged until the next ensuing Christmas, wherein likewise nearly a third of mankind paid the debt of nature, as was the case in the first plague. King David, however, for fear of that plague, remained in the northern parts of the kingdom until the end thereof, and kept the Christmas festival at Kinloss, where a disagreement arose between him and Thomas earl of Mar, and he took into his hands

the castle of Kildrummie, outlawed the earl out of the kingdom, and banished him to England. On their being afterwards reconciled, he ordered everything to be restored to him. The same year also died Thomas earl of Angus, not only through his own folly in following the advice of young men, but also because, through his retainers, he contrived and plotted the death of the king's mistress, Katherine Mortimer; for, though through the keeping of that mistress the queen was neglected and many other evils ensued, yet the manner of committing the crime of killing her was too outrageous, seeing that she was murdered by the said earl's retainers while she was coming south, riding in the king's company and train. By this may be seen what evils are brought on by that sin of adultery, as saith the Lord by the prophet, The sword shall not depart from thy house for ever, seeing thou hast despised me in violating thy neighbour's bed. Now this plague also, like the first, was general over almost the whole of Christendom. It made great ravages in England also, among both high and low; and many of the chief men of Scotland, who were there as hostages for King David, died there, such as the king's nephew, John of Sutherland, earl of that ilk,[50] the only son of his mother, and Thomas earl of Murray, with great numbers of other nobles who were there. See then how adultery displeases the Divine Majesty. King David, who was an open fornicator, never could have peace or happiness or prosperity or favour during his life, or secure the throne in the lineal succession of his body, or have fruitfulness or plenty in his time.

CHAPTER XLVI.

King David, on being instructed to do so, urges upon the three estates that Lionel, son of the king of England, should succeed him on the throne of Scotland.

The following year King David held a parliament at Scone, where he suggested to the three estates that they should consent to the son of the king of England, his wife's brother, Lionel by name, as his successor on the throne, whereby he became very unpopular among the people. To this they shortly and without delay or consultation answered that they would not have this man reign over them; and not him only, but that they would never in all time consent that an Englishman, whatever his rank or condition, should be their future king. But perhaps, though the king proposed this on the

strength of a promise given during his captivity, he yet would never in his heart have willingly assented unto it, seeing what they had done of old; and he was highly pleased with the answer of the three estates, although he made believe otherwise in the presence of the English. Nevertheless much disaffection was thereby caused in the country and laid hold of the magnates, so that the magnates of the kingdom adopted a secret resolution either to turn the king from views of that kind or banish him for ever from the throne; and this was made binding between them by oath and seal. Accordingly the chiefs met together, assembled an army and, if any one would not side with them, they consigned him to prison; and then they sent ambassadors to the king to learn his final intentions. But the king was angry; and, lest others should in future take example from this, he on the other hand assembled his partisans, and had a general edict proclaimed; and he went in pursuit of them, intending to put them all to death or to punish them with perpetual banishment and dispossession. On thinking over the matter, however, because of the destruction of the country and many other disadvantages and losses which would ensue, the king, who was kindly and merciful, dealt more mildly with them, mercifully forgiving them this time, bethinking him that it is very noble in a king to have mercy when he might revenge. And so he was kindly indulgent to them, they having renewed the oath of fealty, lest they should do such things in future. But after this the king called the great men of the kingdom together at Inchmurthow (Inchmurdoch), and had the oaths of fealty renewed by all on the 14th of January of that same year. When therefore this was settled, King David set about espousing Margaret Logie, daughter of sir Malcolm Drummond,[51] a noble and most beautiful lady, at Inchmurthow; and he raised her to the throne with great magnificence as queen. He did not, however, stay very long with her before again getting a divorce, because she pretended to be with child and was not. This was about the Feast of Fasten's Even, in the year 1369. But the queen did not consent to getting this divorce, but secretly embarked in a little vessel and went to the Roman Curia. As, however, the papal court was at that time at Avignon, she appeared there to state her case and complain, and troubled the whole kingdom of Scotland with her suit. For the queen's case commended itself so much to the supreme pontiff and the cardinals that, had she lived, the whole kingdom would have been put under an interdict, and a marriage would have been celebrated between her and the king of England, who had

then no wife.[52] On her account King David had had the three sons of his nephew Robert Stewart arrested, together with their father, and placed singly in close imprisonment. But, when he heard of her death at the court of the supreme pontiff, they were set at liberty and restored to the king's favour. After this King David ruled his kingdom admirably, amended the laws, chastised the rebels, and lived in peace and tranquillity; and towards the close of his life he vowed to go to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, before he had fulfilled his promised undertaking, the Supreme Artificer and Almighty Lord, who directs and orders all things by His nod, made that king pay the debt of nature at the will of his Creator, in the forty-seventh year of his age and the thirty-ninth of his reign, at Edinburgh Castle; and he lies honourably buried in the choir of the monastery of Holyrood.

End of Book IX.

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I.

Coronation of Robert Stewart.

After the death of that great prince King David Bruce, the magnates of Scotland met together at Linlithgow in order to deliberate on the right of succession to the throne of Scotland; and they unanimously agreed with one accord upon this right of succession, and resolved that sir Robert Stewart, King David's nephew, was their lawful future king, according to the tailzie made in open parliament by the common consent of the magnates of the realm in the presence of sir Robert Bruce of famous memory, and afterwards confirmed and approved by the common consent of all the great men of the kingdom. On the other hand, however, William Douglas opposed it with all his might, saying that the right of succession to the throne of Scotland should come to himself through Edward Balliol. He was indeed a great man in the southern parts of Scotland, being earl of Douglas. Nevertheless there rose up against him and his opinion the earls of March and of Murray and the lord Erskine, who were at that time wardens of the castles of Stirling, Edinburgh and Dumbarton, together with the greater part of the lords, prelates and magnates of Scotland. Seeing that he could not well succeed in this, as he had unadvisedly thrust himself into it against the feeling of the magnates and lords of the realm, the said earl of Douglas, by the advice of prelates and others of his friends, held his peace, and it was agreed that James Douglas, his eldest son and heir, should ally himself by marriage with the said Robert's daughter in lawful bed begotten; and that he should obey the aforesaid Robert, the future king, in all things, and give his full consent to his succession to the throne; and so the affair was settled. At the following Feast of

the Annunciation of Our Lady they crowned the aforesaid Robert Stewart king with the greatest solemnity at Scone. He was right noble, handsome, and had a fine figure, and was amiable and popular with every one. In his time there was great fruitfulness and plenteousness of wealth, peace and prosperity, and friendly unity among the magnates of the realm. He begat many sons and daughters; and he delighted in the chase and in fowling. But because he begat many children outside the bands of wedlock, therefore they did not turn out so well in the end, as will be seen later. Whoever would ask or know more of the begetting of bastards, let him look in the books of Solomon what he says. Hence a certain poet, speaking of bastards, has the following lines:—

In bastards, character three stamps receives:
They 're always pompous, lecherous, or thieves.

After these things the English, who are ever venomous and deadly and foes to peace, during a truce killed a certain famous and renowned squire, Dunbar by name, cousin of the earl of March, in the public market-place at Roxburgh. But, because the English wardens of the marches would not do justice at the request and instance of the earl, but answered jeeringly, the earl of March himself, after long pretending he did not wish to resent this in any way, assembled an army and came very craftily one market-day, when the English were flocking to that place in immense crowds and bringing untold goods and merchandise to the fair. He then surrounded and hemmed in the town of Roxburgh when the crowd of people was thickest, and made such slaughter and pillage of the English at the said fair, that not a single one of those who were there escaped out of his hands; nor did he give quarter to any male, but massacred them all and delivered them to the edge of the sword; and even such as retreated into the houses and defended themselves he burnt to death. Thus he repaid the English; and he wrested from them untold wealth, and marvellously enriched his men. Thus he taught them a lesson in observing truces. But from that day the truce was broken, and on all sides of the marches there were daily forays, ravages, massacres and burnings; so that on both sides they wofully wasted the country by mutual slaughter without respite; and especially the land of the lord of Gordon they everywhere turned into a wilderness, for he was the ringleader at Roxburgh at the holding of the Bloody Fair. He, on the other hand, did not let those English fool him or go unpunished. Nay, he returned the compliment by attacking them with even more

fierceness, and carried off all their property within the limits of the eastern marches. A certain knight, however, John de Liburn (Lilburn) by name, to whom the alarm had been given, came upon him unawares with a strong force of men-at-arms and, blocking the path of the Scots, challenged them to fight. But this lord of Gordon gained the victory, though with great difficulty and much slaughter, and divided their spoil after making great slaughter; and he went home again to his own country with glory and great riches. The said lord of Gordon was, however, wounded in various places.

CHAPTER II.

Base flight of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland.

Sir Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, unable to brook the disasters and grievous harrying of the English, assembled his forces to the number of seven thousand men-at-arms, penetrated into Scotland, and overran the whole land of the earl of Dunbar, wasting it with fire and sword. Marching on thence the first night as far as Dunse Park, he encamped there. Hither came some cunning lads, varlets and youths of the country with some of their dependents, about midnight, with a fearful noise from a certain instrument which in Scotland is called *Clochbolg*, and with horn trumpets; and they went up to the troop of horses and made such a fearful noise that the horses were exceedingly terrified and bewildered, broke their fastenings, bits, bridles and reins, as seized with a panic, and, leaving their masters on foot in the said park of Dunse, at once bolted off bodily to English ground, and never came back again. But the lord Percy [and his men],[1] dazed with fear and thinking the Scottish army was close upon them, were awake and on their feet the whole night under arms and ready to do battle. In the morning, however, seeing that their horses had been stampeded off to England beyond recall, while some had been captured on the way, they shouldered their lances and hastened back again ingloriously on foot in their armour. Thus was the earl Percy compelled shamefully to take to flight home to England. Now these youths' stratagem is very highly spoken of; so it is a good thing in warfare to act not always with valour and might, but sometimes with shrewdness and ingenuity. In the year 1372 a wind called that of St. Nicholas burst upon Scotland, and overturned and blew down houses and churches and everything else fixed in the ground, such as

trees, towers, the pinnacles of the temple, causing inestimable damage. The same year Queen Euphemia was crowned at Scone. She was the mother of the traitor earl of Athol who was privy to the death of King James I., and daughter of the earl of Ross. We shall speak in due time of this earl's end. Of her the king begat Earl David of Strathern, who was the father of the countess of that ilk who was afterwards the spouse of sir William Graham's brother, which brother of sir William Graham was earl in right of his wife, and begat of her sons and daughters; and he was afterwards betrayed into confidence and murdered by some brothers of the name of Oliphant, who also afterwards were punished with the penalty of death. In the year 1378 a very great schism arose in the Roman Curia, and lasted until the election of Pope Martin V., that is to say sixty-eight years. In the year of the said schism the great church of Saint Andrews, which was built entirely of lead, was burned down at the Feast of the Virgin Thekla, at the hour of high mass, by the lightning, or by the birds' nests under the leaden roof and rafters catching fire from the heat of the blazing sun, as is conjectured.[2] The same year the town of Berwick was retaken by the Scots. The same year, in 1379,[3] was born David duke of Rothesay, who was afterwards starved to death by his uncle Robert duke of Albany. The following year William earl of Douglas assembled an army at the festival of the fair of the town of Penrith and, without warning to the townsfolk, surrounded the town, plundered it and burnt it down, and slew, captured and carried off many of the townsfolk, peasantry and merchants. Some of the Scots, however, perished through their own fault, having been left behind in the town through covetousness or drunkenness or otherwise. Let men in future therefore be warned against such things by the example of others. The same year also began the third plague, wherein likewise a great part of the inhabitants of the kingdom were swept away by pestilence. At the beginning of the following year the English entered the western districts of Scotland with a great host of men-at-arms, and did much harm; but the countrymen of that province assembled their forces and fell upon them suddenly in a certain strong place, making great havoc of them, taking some and slaying others, and returned safely, bringing with them their booty and prisoners.

CHAPTER III.

Ambassadors of the king of France sent into Scotland.[4]

In the year 1381 King Robert sent Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow and cardinal, together with others, to Charles king of France, to renew the ancient treaties between the kingdoms, in the following words:—

We Charles, by the grace of God king of the French, make known to all and singular who shall see or hear these letters that, whereas, among other means whereby kings reign and kingdoms are governed, it is expedient and necessary that treaties and ties of firm friendship should be knit between princes, whereby those who would bring trouble upon their subjects may be the more stoutly withstood and their mischievous attempts the more easily met, and so peace and tranquillity among Christ's people may be preserved and may ensue therefrom, We therefore, looking to the hearty friendship and alliance contracted and established from times long past between Our predecessors, kings of France and Scotland, as well as between the realms, inhabitants and communities of the said kingdoms, and wishing therefore most earnestly that the said friendship and alliance should be renewed, held to, kept, continued and firmly and amicably consolidated with the venerable father in Christ the bishop of Glasgow, Our particular friend, and Archibald Douglas, knight, cousin to the said king of Scotland, master Adam Tyningham, dean of the church of Aberdeen, procurators specially deputed therefor and ambassadors of Our said dearest brother and ally and beloved cousin, the renowned king of Scots, and having therein his authority and special mandate and powers, as is contained in the words following: We, Robert, by the grace of God king of Scots, make known to all by these presents that, whereas from times long past a friendship and alliance has been contracted and faithfully preserved between Us and the illustrious prince, the king of the French, and between Our grandfather and the said king's grandfather and the kingdom and people of those realms, and We wish that it should in future be inviolably preserved and continued in time to come as it has been preserved and continued in time past, therefore We give and grant and by these presents appoint Our beloved, etc., Our true and lawful procurators, agents, factors and managers of Our affairs and special ambassadors and envoys to accomplish and negotiate all the aforesaid matters which have to be done, negotiated and accomplished

in the aforesaid business; bestowing upon them Our free, full and general powers and special mandate for Us, the prelates, lords and community of Our kingdom of Scotland, and particularly for renewing, continuing, enlarging and improving the aforesaid alliance and adding whatever should be added, according to the tenour of the articles exhibited unto them by Us and Our council, giving and granting, etc., according to the tenour of the mandate, etc., and for the preservation and renewal thereof, and, according to the tenour of the mandate, for taking an oath, upon Our soul and that of the others of Our realm whom it concerns, scrupulously to observe all and singular; therefore We, Charles king of France, have treated with the aforesaid envoys, and have agreed to the following effect, to wit that We, Our heirs and successors, kings of France, Our kingdom and Our communities, as well as Our said cousin, his heirs and successors, and the kingdom and the communities of the same, are in good faith held and bound to one another, by a bond of union and friendship, to do, give and procure assistance, counsel and encouragement by everything in our power, as we are faithfully bound one to another. And forasmuch as the king of England and his predecessors have very often attempted and made every effort to harass and injure the said kingdoms of France and Scotland, in order to check and hinder the said attempts and outrages aforesaid, we are mutually tied and bound, so that whenever Our said cousin, the king of Scots, his heirs and successors, kings of Scotland, the kingdom and the communities of the same are in need of help or advice, in time of peace or war, against the said king of England or his heirs, successors or subjects, We shall help and advise him so far as We are able, even as We are faithfully held and bound as allies to Our said cousin, his heirs and successors, kings of Scotland, and likewise to the kingdom and the communities of the same. Also, if war should break out between Us or Our successors, kings of France, or Our kingdom and the king of England or his successors, Our said cousin the king of Scotland, his heirs or successors, being kings, shall be held bound to wage war with their whole forces upon the said king of England and his heirs and successors on the throne of England, so soon as he can be certified of the outbreak of such war by a sufficient writing, truthful information, or common report; the truce between the kingdoms of Scotland and England now presently made being, however, altogether voided and ended, or otherwise annulled or broken by any fault of the English. And in like manner We and Our successors, kings of France, shall be held to make war with our whole forces against the

said king of England, his heirs and successors, and the kingdom of England, so soon as we shall be truly certified or can be certified, as stated above, war, however, having first broken out between the said kings of Scotland and England, and, *as before*, the truce being ended, *as above*, or otherwise howsoever broken or annulled. Also that We and Our successors, kings of France, shall not suffer nor in any way tolerate that any of our subjects should do or give any assistance, advice or countenance to the aforesaid king of England and his heirs and successors, auxiliaries or allies, or go with him or assist him for pay, or in any other way without pay, which might benefit him, the king of England, and injure the said king of Scotland; or even to any other persons whatever, enemies, adversaries or rebels to him, Our said cousin, or his heirs and successors, who shall inflict any outrage upon the kingdom of the same or the communities of the same, or any wrong or damage whatever, or otherwise howsoever. And if, after the general prohibition and interdict decreed in the premises, any one of Ours shall be found guilty, he who has acted or does act to the contrary shall be taken and punished as a traitor and rebel against his prince and country, and shall never after find grace, favour or forgiveness for this manner of treachery.

CHAPTER IV.

Same continued.

Also that adversaries and notorious rebels to Us or Our successors, kings of France, or to Our said cousin, the king of Scotland, or his kingdom, shall neither openly nor privately be received within the kingdom or dominions of the other, so soon as one of the kings shall be required by the other; but We shall keep and win, to the best of Our ability, all Our friends and allies and all Our adherents to the love and assistance of Our said cousin, the king of Scots, and his successors and the community of his realm; and We shall no less prevent, as best We may, any abuse, slight, affront or insult towards them. Also, that We shall not be able to have a truce with the said king of England, his heirs or successors, without the consent of the said king of Scotland, Our cousin, and of his heirs and successors, until that king and the kingdom and the communities of the same be included in the said truce, or themselves refuse to be included in the said truce. Also, that We shall not be able to make peace with the said king of England or his

heirs or successors without the express consent of Our said cousin, as aforesaid, until the king of Scotland himself and the communities of the same and his heirs and successors be plenarily included in the aforesaid peace. Also, in case Our said cousin depart this life without an heir procreated of his body, and there arise a dispute among any persons as to the hereditary right of succession to the throne, in that case We shall not espouse the cause of any one of them, nor shall We suffer any one or more of them to be assisted by Our subjects, until their right have been fully discussed by the prelates and great men of Scotland, according to the laws, jurisprudence and statutes of the kingdom; and him whom they or the major and sounder part of them shall have voted for as their king, We likewise shall hold, have and accept as Our allied king and friend. And if any of his adversaries, through the might of the king of England, his heirs or successors, wage war against him or his kingdom, We shall, to the best of our ability, support this king against such, and help and defend him against all his adversaries, enemies and their adherents, in accordance with the text of the aforenamed alliance and the circumstances of the said alliances. Also, We shall moreover take care that this alliance be approved, ratified and confirmed in the foregoing form by the apostolic authority; and We shall take care that neither We nor Our successors, either openly or privately, either of ourselves or through others, cause or induce Ourselves or Our successors, Our kingdom or Our subjects, to be in any wise absolved from the oath hereunto sworn or to be sworn, or from the observance or continuance of the same between the said kings and their kingdoms and communities, as aforesaid. But if the most holy apostolic father, whether of his own accord or moved or induced thereunto by any other persons, should wish to absolve Us or Our successors, or Our kingdom or subjects from the aforesaid oath, or in any wise annul that oath, yet We, Our successors or subjects shall not be at liberty, nor ought We, in any manner to avail ourselves of the benefit of such absolution; but We shall faithfully keep and observe these alliances and oaths, so contracted, in their every point and article, without fraud, falsehood or ill-will whatsoever, to endure for all time, and shall never of Ourselves or by others say, do or speak anything to the contrary, any more than if the said absolution had never been spoken of, or that such absolution and cancellation had never been obtained or given. And furthermore We promise in good faith to keep, observe and fulfil all the aforesaid and each of them, in so far as it concerns or may concern Us or Our part; and also, in the presence of Us

and the procurators of Our said cousin, the king of Scotland, by Our beloved liege, knight and councillor, Simon count de Braine, We have caused an oath to be sworn upon Our soul, on God's holy gospels, to faithfully and steadfastly fulfil and observe the foregoing; and, that all this should become firm and stable for the future, We have caused Our seal to be affixed to these presents. These were given and done in Our castle of Bois de Vincennes, near Our town of Paris, on the last day of June in the year of grace 1381.[5]

During this time a truce was made between Scotland and England at the town of Berwick, at the instance of the English, for a term of three years next to come, by the duke of Lancaster, to whom came news from England which did not please him much.

CHAPTER V.

An English peasant attacks and slays nobles and magnates.

In the above year, before the aforenamed envoys were sent, an English peasant, named Jack Straw, together with great crowds of other peasants, rose against the new king Richard, the second of this name, arrested him by force of arms, and placed him under arrest in their own custody in London: and they cruelly murdered the archbishop of Canterbury and many noble knights and squires and barons, and levelled his manor to the ground; for they hated him beyond all mortal men. Their leader was Jack Straw, a man ready for incredible mischief of all kinds. But the duke of Lancaster, on hearing this—that the peasants had sworn his death—turned his steps Scotlandwards and entered Scotland on the faith of a safe conduct; and they received him with all honour and lodged him at the monastery of Holyrood. About the same time sir John Lyon, lord of Glammis, was foully murdered by sir James Lindsay, at night, when naked in bed and unsuspecting. But Richard king of England sent envoys to Scotland to the duke of Lancaster, directing him to return to England; for that force of peasants had been dispersed by a certain knight, the mayor of London, who slew the said peasant and his accomplices. In the year 1384, the term of the truce being at an end, Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, seeing the wrongs and massacres inflicted upon his men by the English, assembled an army of his friends and besieged and took Lochmaben Castle, which he straightway razed to the ground. Seeing this, the English sent a knight, the baron of Graystock, fearing the Scots would likewise take by force the castle

of Roxburgh. But, when he was thus coming with chariots and horsemen, together with all his house and household utensils, the earl of March came with an armed force suddenly upon him of set purpose, and carried him off with him; and, killing and breaking up all his party, taking some prisoners, slaying others and putting some to flight, he annihilated them at a place which is called Benrig, and brought their spoil with him to Dunbar. This roused the king of England and the whole of the great men of the kingdom, who, seeing how unbearable were the doings of the Scots, and seeing and reflecting that King Richard II. was a young man, by common consent of the king and barons ordained and appointed Henry duke of Lancaster, King Richard's uncle, protector and defender of England against the attacks of the Scots until the king should be of age;[6] and, in retaliation for the aforesaid disasters, they ordered him to harry with fire and sword, without any mercy, the whole land of Scotland as far as the Scottish sea (Firth of Forth), with an immense force of men-at-arms, which he accordingly did. But, while he was in Scotland, he did them as little harm as he could, on account of the great courtesy and kindness he himself had formerly received in Scotland. It was the Passion Week of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year 1385 of Our Lord's aforesaid Passion, when he came in.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival of Henry duke of Lancaster, uncle of the king of England.

In the above year, namely 1385, Henry duke of Lancaster, afterwards king of England, entered Scotland with a very large force of men-at-arms, both by land and by sea, and came as far as Edinburgh, bringing his war fleet with his provisions to Leith. The English indeed, with their wonted malignity, intended that the aforesaid town of Edinburgh should be burnt down. Duke Henry, however, would not have this, and did all he could to prevent it. So the burgesses, seeing his noble courtesy, appointed that a certain sum of money should be given to the said duke, that he might regale his men therewith; and on all sides they presented these, namely, the said lord duke and the chiefs of his army, with many choice things to boot. But it came to pass that a great bark out of his war fleet committed many outrageous ravages on Saint Columba's island of Eumonia (Inchcolm), and entirely stripped the said place both of the ornaments of the church and of the furniture of the place;

and, when the ruffians would have burnt down the church and had set fire to a house adjoining the church, a strong wind blew the flames back upon them, and burnt and suffocated them almost all; and thus Saint Columba by a miracle saved his church from being burnt down by them. Nevertheless, when these same ruffians went on board again and landed at Queensferry, where they committed great cruelties and barbarities, they were, some of them, driven back to their ships by some nobles of the country, to wit, the lords Erskine and Kilmaurs, while nearly fifty remained on the field. Afterwards a strong gale burst upon their sails, the ship was wrecked on the rocks, and all but the skipper, who escaped in the boat with two men with him, were swallowed up in the depths of the sea; and these too, being again cast ashore in the boat, were brought back to the said monastery of Saint Columba, and the chief actor and plunderer of the church went out of his mind and made known his wickedness, showing forth a miracle in the face of all, and put an end to his life in a strange fit of madness. It was he who with his own hands had set fire to the church.[7] The same year Berwick Castle was taken by the Scots at night in the month of September. The same year also Pope Gregory launched a sentence of excommunication against Scotland, against all who appropriated to themselves the property of bishops after their death, calling themselves their heirs and usurping to themselves and snatching their goods, under the pretext of a certain custom or contribution which will be explained further on. This custom was abolished in modern times by King James II., who, by a divine inspiration, granted the bishops free and full power to make wills, and approved, ratified and confirmed it unto them for all time to come. The same year also sir Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow and cardinal, was made legate *a latere* for Scotland, which has rarely been seen: he was specially deputed to the kingdoms of both Scotland and Ireland with full powers. About the same time also, William earl of Douglas brought back to fealty and allegiance to the king of Scotland the whole country of Teviotdale, which had been rendering fealty to the English from the time of the battle of Durham until this hour. This earl was afterwards seized with a sudden sickness and died at Douglas Castle; and he lies buried at Melrose. He was succeeded by his son James, who was always most bitterly hostile to the English, and who, immediately after his father's death, twice raided in force into England as far as Newcastle and wasted and destroyed everything.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of the French into Scotland in aid of the Scots against the English.

In the year 1385 the king of France, beyond measure rejoiced at the success of the Scots, sent a certain knight of Burgundian origin, named John de Vienne, count of Valentinois and admiral of France, with a considerable train of men-at-arms, belted chivalry, eighty[8] knights with their followers, admirably equipped, as was meet, and ready to battle. They landed at Dunbar and Leith, and presented the king, who was at Edinburgh with his magnates, with fifty[9] complete suits of armour from the king of France, with as many lances and targes; and they also handed over to the king of Scotland from the king of France, as a free gift from him, fifty thousand francs in gold in ready money, as well as the said Frenchmen, with their pay fully and entirely paid up for six months to come, and the sailors; and there were royal letters addressed to the king, telling him to send them on service in his war against the English. These Frenchmen, together with Archibald Douglas and the border chieftains, took by force three castles on the borders, namely Wark, Ford and Cornuale, and after taking them razed them to the ground. After this, this same admiral, together with Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, and with a very large force of men-at-arms, seeing that he was guardian of Wester-March, raided into England two or three times and wrought much mischief. On their return, they first proposed to besiege the castle of Carlisle; but, assembling a larger army, they laid siege to Roxburgh. Here the general and commander was Robert Stewart, the king's son, earl of Fife and afterward duke of Albany; and he had with him the earls of Douglas and March, Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, and a great knightly rout of nobles. But there arose a dispute among them whether, if the castle happened to be taken, it should remain for ever with the king of France, or be converted to the uses of the king of Scotland. Some indeed said the French offered that they themselves should recover the castle entirely, assigning to them either the honour or the profit. And thus, because they could not agree, they returned without doing anything; and not many days after this the Frenchmen embarked about the Feast of All Saints and returned safely to France. The following year Richard king of England, the second of this name, being nineteen years of age, entered Scotland about the Feast of Saint

Lawrence, and attacked, overthrew and ravaged everything in his pride, sparing nothing, saving nothing, sparing neither age, nor order, nor religious community. He pillaged and burnt down many churches and monasteries and other sacred places, such as Melrose, Dryburgh, Newbottle; he also destroyed the noble town of Edinburgh, with the church thereof erected in honour of Saint Giles, and the whole of Lothian; and he returned home to his own kingdom without loss, having, however, before his departure, in like manner pillaged and burnt the monastery of Holyrood.[10] Wherefore, and by the vengeance of God alone, this King Richard wandered about the Scottish Isles as a poor beggar, and was found living most wretchedly for a while in a certain lord's kitchen; and, being afterwards recognised by some one, he was brought to the king of Scotland, and there ended his days in idiocy. And thus, as is presumed, by the hidden judgment of God and in revenge for the foregoing, his uncle, who had been most shamefully exiled and cast out from the kingdom by the wickedness and power of the peasants, put an end to his life in great wretchedness among his enemies, according to the word of the prophet, saying, The Lord delivered them into the hand of the enemy, and they who hated them had dominion over them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Acts of Robert Stewart earl of Fife.

After the English king Richard's return into England, sir Robert Stewart of Fife, the king's second son, gathered unto him from all parts of the country a strong body of men-at-arms, to the number of 30,000, with whom were Archibald Douglas of Galloway, *Black Archibald*, and also his father James Douglas, earl of that ilk. They entered at Solway, between the seaboard and the hilly parts of England, and advanced unperceived through a fertile and inhabited country, overflowing with wealth of all kinds, as far as Cockermouth, where they filled their coffers with spoil beyond measure. There a charter was found in the words following: *I king Athilstane giffis heir to Paulyn Hodan and Rodan, als weil and als fair as evir thai myn war; and thairto witnes Mauld my wif, and thairto my sele I gif*, etc. Whence afterwards when, through the tricks and devices of the world, there was invented another fashion of drawing up long-winded charters, which would be read in court before him at the time when he was governor of Scotland,

he was wont to say that one should attach more faith and truth to the short charters than to the long-winded ones; for the greater the multitude of terms, the greater the difficulty and confusion. In a multitude of terms, indeed, frivolous objections may be taken, which are excluded by a paucity of terms. Now this Archibald Douglas had one son named William, who was a very celebrated and gallant warrior, and harassed the English greatly; and, on account of his prowess, the lord king Robert of Scotland gave him his daughter in marriage, and freely bestowed upon them the lordship of Nithsdale as a heritage for ever. She was called *Egidia the Fair;* and the king of France, hearing of the fame of her name, virtues and beauty, sent a certain most subtle painter to paint her portrait and portray her charms, with the view of taking her to wife; but she was already secured by her former lover. So she married the aforesaid William Douglas, who of her begat an only daughter whom the lord earl of Orkney, called Henry Sinclair, took to wife, and of whom he begat William earl of Orkney and a great many other sons and daughters. And because the said land of Nithsdale was in some way diverted by foul means from the proper heirs, King James, the second of this name, made over the earldom of Caithness to the aforesaid sir William Sinclair earl of Orkney, as compensation for the said lordship of Nithsdale. This lady was called *The fair Maiden of Nithsdale.* But this lady's father, being very high spirited, served in repeated campaigns with the chivalry of Prussia on the borders of the heathen enemies of Christ. At length one day he was by chance found by the English taking a walk on the bridge of Dansekyn (Danzig), and killed. He indeed, in company with the earl of Fife, bore himself most bravely at Carlingford in Ireland, where they gained a most brilliant victory; and they brought back safely to Scotland much wealth, with ships filled with riches.

CHAPTER IX.

Battle of Otterburn.

After this they came to Scotland, and landed at Lochryan, pillaging and plundering the Isle of Man on their way. Then they mounted their horses, taking with them some of the most valiant and able men of the whole country, together with the lord earl of Douglas[11] and also the earl of Fife, then in England; and he proposed to go the west country for the purpose of

laying all waste with fire and sword. The lord earl of Douglas also had promised, it is asserted, that he and his should at the same time enter the district of Wester March in the army of the said earl of Fife and also of the said William Douglas. Led, however, by no one knows what impulse or advice, he assembled his forces to the number of seven thousand stout men-at-arms and, being too high spirited and relying on their assistance, it seemed to him that he was by himself, without other help, strong enough to overrun and totally subjugate the northern parts of England. So he led his army southwards as far as Newcastle, shattering and burning and slaying everything; and at the said town of Newcastle, in attacking the citizens and assaulting the town and fighting hand to hand with the townsfolk, they bore themselves most stoutly. But within the aforesaid town, though they knew nothing of it, was the whole chivalry of Northumberland with sir Henry Percy the son, who was named *Henry Hotspur*, and who was waiting to seize a fit opportunity to fall upon the Scottish army. Thus, when the earl of Douglas was making his way home and had encamped at Otterburn in Redesdale, this Henry Hotspur followed, and first prudently caused the army of the earl of Fife to be reconnoitred; but, as he was too strong for him, he turned upon the earl of Douglas. The latter, having no foreboding of evil from his enemies, proposed to go to the festival of Saint Cuthbert of York,[12] and wished to bring with him all his nobles, namely, the earls of March and Murray and many others who accompanied them. So, while they were seated at supper in holiday attire, in flowing robes and gowns with collars, and were sitting joyously like peaceful men, lo! suddenly the voice of one crying in great haste, "Fools and dolts, who have no scouts or sentries outside your army, rise now and haste to arms. Lo! ye are surrounded on all sides by your enemies." They rose at once and rushed to arms, but scarcely could a bare half of them arm themselves. The earl of Douglas also rose, and in his haste could hardly lace on his armour or fasten it with the buckles, owing to the confusion of the sudden onslaught of the enemy; so he rushed forward with uncovered face to marshal the line of battle, and was mortally wounded in the face in the dark, by whom is not known, whether by the Scots or by the English. Accordingly in the morning he was found dead, not leaving after him any heir of his body. He was succeeded in his aforesaid earldom by Black Archibald, the bastard or natural son, who was at that time lord of Galloway. The earl of Murray also, John Dunbar, who, through overmuch haste, was without a helmet, was lost.

When therefore the outcry was raised, the Scots, as it were, turned to flee; and sir Maurice, called *Sir Maw with the Red Mane*, and sir Robert Ogle were to have pursued them. But, just as the English thought they had gained a complete victory over the whole army, the earl of Douglas and many of the most valiant nobles, keeping out of sight of the English, charged them in the glare of the sun, a little before sunset, engaged them fearlessly and compelled them to fall back. So, when they had fought thus a little while, the Scots, who had been on the point of flight, kept coming back little by little, growing in strength and numbers and attacking the English army, until at last they compelled the army of Henry Hotspur to retreat in flight. For he had divided his army into two parts, thinking the Scots would turn and flee at once: one part was to chase the fugitives,[13] and the other part he kept with him—five thousand men-at-arms in each division. While therefore sir Maurice with the Red Mane and sir Robert Ogle, who had been told off to chase the aforesaid fugitives, stopped to pull down the tents and pavilions and to divide the spoil, and sir Henry Percy and his men were making merry over the fugitives and spoils and thinking they would overcome all without resistance, all at once the lord Douglas with two other earls and the flower of noble men-at-arms quickly broke and defeated his whole company. For, while these were obstinately fighting with their lances in the height of the struggle, all at once a certain most noble and gallant knight, sir John Swinton, lord of that ilk, came on the flank with a thick and strong lance, and beat to the ground sideways all the lances of the English, as many as he came across; and, as he thus kept on striking down to the ground the iron spearheads of the English, they could not therefore hurt our Scots in the least. So, when they had fought thus a little while, the English were forced to give way, and showed their backs to the Scots. As night was approaching, however, the pursuing Scots, after taking some prisoners, overthrowing some, and leaving others dead on the field, rested not from their pursuit of them all that night, but kept on dividing the spoil or sending prisoners across into Scotland; so that, according to some accounts, the prisoners exceeded the captors in number. On the side of the Scots many indeed fell, but not a tenth part of the English. Nevertheless the noble earl of Douglas, as related above, was wounded in the night, and was found dead in the morning; while also the earl of March and the earl of Murray were mortally wounded. Robert Hart and John Towers, knights, died in the battle. In the book of the Great Chronicle (Scotichronicon) there are some remarkable lines on the subject.

CHAPTER X.

King Robert of Scotland, being of great age, appoints his younger son, Robert duke of Albany, governor of Scotland.

In the year 1389 King Robert II., being of great age, consented that his second son, Robert earl of Fife, should be governor of the kingdom. For John earl of Carrick, his eldest son, had been seriously injured on the leg by a kick from the horse of James Douglas, so that he was so to speak unequal to the daily task of governing the kingdom, and had become lame. At the outset of his governorship he summoned the great men of the three estates of the realm, and held a council at Edinburgh; and all the prelates and lords of the realm tendered an oath of fealty to him for the government of the kingdom. Now in the aforesaid battle of Otterburn Henry Percy, called Hotspur, was taken prisoner by the earl of March, whereat the English were beyond measure indignant, and especially a certain arrogant knight, named the Earl Marshal, who reviled his own nation, seeing that they were so many and the Scotchmen so few; and then he would boastfully say he wished he himself could have a brush with the Scots. So when the new governor heard this, he straightway assembled an army, and made his way into England up to near the place where the said Earl Marshal dwelt, and encamped; and he sent over messengers to him, offering his battle. The other, however, declined, saying that he had received injunctions from his king not to expose his men to danger without his orders. So the earl, the governor of Scotland, on hearing this, returned home, destroying with fire and sword everything he came across on his march. All brave men of either nation, however, made a jest of this answer. But the governor of Scotland loaded his army with the spoil and plunder of the English and repaired home safely. The same year the king of the French sent envoys into Scotland to bring about a truce both by sea and by land between Scotland and England. For a truce for three years had been agreed upon at Boulogne-sur-Mer between the king of France himself and the king of England; and, according to the terms of the alliance, the kingdom of Scotland was included in it, if the parties pleased. Whereupon envoys were sent to the king of England, in order that he might consent and swear the truce; and in like manner the king of England sent envoys to the king of Scotland, earnestly beseeching him to hold to the truce. The king, therefore, after persistent entreaties addressed

both to the chiefs of Scotland and also to the king, agreed to the truce, and likewise swore to keep it, out of regard for the king of France, his ally. Thus was the kingdom pacified after much tribulation, and abode in the most blissful prosperity for years and years. Meanwhile the lord king Robert II. was seized with a brief illness at Dundonald Castle and gave up the ghost, paying the debt of nature; and he lies honourably entombed at Scone. He passed away on the 20th[14] of April, in the year of our Lord 1390. He reigned nineteen years and twenty-three[15] days, leaving the kingdom in quiet, freedom, fruitfulness and peace. May his soul rest with the Eternal King! He was seventy-four years of age. The same year sir Alexander Stewart, the king's son and earl of Buchan, burnt down that most beautiful church of Elgin in Moray, to wit the cathedral. Be it observed that the said King Robert II. begat three sons of his spouse Elizabeth, daughter of sir Adam Mure, namely John, who afterwards changed his name and was king, Robert duke of Albany, and the aforesaid Alexander earl of Buchan, who was commonly called *The Wolf of Badenoch*, and by the savage Scots was called *Alister More Makin Re*, and who also begat three bastard sons, namely, Alexander earl of Mar, Robert Stewart of Athol, and Duncan Stewart, who were all said to be of a bad disposition; nevertheless Alexander earl of Mar was the wisest of them. Then, after the birth of those three sons of King Robert II., he was joined in wedlock to Euphemia, daughter of the earl of Ross, and of her begat Walter earl of Athol, who was afterwards found guilty of treachery to King James I., and put to death; and David earl of Strathern. After the death of this Queen Euphemia, again, the king married his first mistress, Elizabeth Mure, for love of the children and to legitimize them. So his sons were legitimized, and the first succeeded to the throne; for the said earl of Athol, the traitor, was suspected by some of not being the king's son, but gotten by adultery. And thus these three sons were legitimized by a subsequent marriage, and succeeded to the throne.

CHAPTER XI.

Coronation of King Robert III. *and Queen Anabella.*

In the year 1390, King Robert III. was crowned at Scone in royal fashion the same year, after changing his name; and on the morrow Anabella Drummond was in like manner graced

with the royal diadem at the same place. The following year there broke out such a struggle among the savage Scots that they troubled the whole country with their struggles. Wherefore the king, unable to restore them to peace and harmony, by the advice of the magnates of the realm appointed as follows: that the two principal chieftains among them should each take thirty of their chiefest and most valiant friends, and should fight in closed lists, without armour, after the manner of a duel, with swords only and pole-axes and bows, and with only three arrows; and this was to be in the king's presence, at an appointed time and place, on the North Inch at Perth. For throughout the whole county of Angus they could have no peace because of their marauding; and even not many days before, they, namely the savages, had cruelly slain the son of the earl of Buchan [16] and many other nobles, the sheriff of Angus among others, who were defending the property of the country in the field. Wherefore, through the good offices of the earl of Crawford and other nobles of the country, it was agreed as aforesaid, and carried into effect, so that in the end all on both sides but seven were killed: five indeed on one side, and two on the other, escaping with their lives. Of these two on the side of the losers, one was chased as far as the river Tay and beyond, and saved himself by swimming; while the other was taken prisoner and received quarter, with the consent of the party. Others say he was hanged. At the outset of the fight, one of the number of one side was missing, and those who looked for him could not find him; but by chance there came one who was of their kin and had no love for the other adverse party, and he was brought into the battleground for forty shillings, and went in and did valiantly, escaping safe and sound with his life after the battle.[17] The following year a certain knight, called Robert Morlay, challenged a gold cup of the king of Scotland, and made a vow that he would bring the aforesaid gold cup with him unless it were defended by battle. Sir James Douglas offered himself to him; but, from the decided manner in which the affair was cut short, nothing came of it. On his departure, however, he did battle with two knights of Scotland separately, at so many hits, at Berwick, and bore himself creditably with both. But on the morrow he did battle with sir Thomas Trail, nephew of the bishop of Saint Andrews, and was then altogether defeated; and from the sadness he felt and the increasing melancholy he consequently fell into therefrom, he was laid upon a bed of sickness and ended his days. For he had gained many honourable victories in divers kingdoms, and had had enormous expenses; and in that way,

through sadness and want, he fell into hopeless despair. The same year a certain coiner was boiled to death at Perth.[18] In the year of our Lord 1398 King Robert III. created his eldest son David earl of Carrick duke of Rothesay, and he made his brother Robert earl of Fife and Menteith duke of Albany, and continued him as governor of the kingdom. Before this time no one either in Scotland or in England was ever named duke of Rothesay or of Albany, nor do we read in writings of such a thing. The same year also, at the same time and place, sir David Lindsay was made first earl of Crawford. The king also wished to create sir Archibald the Black earl of Douglas a duke; but he himself would not have it, saying the domain was not worth taking the name of duke for;[19] and when the heralds called out to him, "Sir duke, sir duke," he answered and said, "Sir drake, sir drake;" and thus he would only accept the name of earl. But this earl of Crawford performed remarkable feats of arms in England before King Richard, and against the lord of Wells, who was called and proved to be the most eminent knight in the kingdom of England at the time; and many nobles of Scotland gained distinction there. This ceremony, the creation of the dukes and earl, took place at Scone, and lasted fifteen days with great splendour.

Then follows the murder of the sheriff of Angus by the highland Scots, and other incidents; but, as it was touched upon in the last chapter, it is passed over, together with other anecdotes contained there in the Great Chronicle.

In the year of our Lord 1391 the noble knight sir Walter Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, was killed by the savage Scots in the forest of Platane, together with his brother Walter of Lichton, at Glenbreth, and together with many other nobles of Angus; and there Duncan Stewart, brother of Alexander earl of Mar, fell in resisting their plunder being carried off out of Angus.[20] About the same time also William Inglis, knight, fought in single combat with one of England, Struthers by name, and slew him, Black Archibald earl of Douglas and sir Henry Percy earl of Northumberland being the judges.

CHAPTER XII.

Treachery of the English and deposition of King Richard.

CHAPTER XIII.

Treachery of King Richard himself under the cloak of pretended friendliness.

CHAPTER XIV.

Coronation of King Henry IV.

AND thus in this manner was King Richard bereft and divested of his kingdom, and straightway thrust into perpetual imprisonment, and about to be despatched. But he was, however, soon cleverly exchanged by some of his well-wishers, and snatched away from thence, another like him being put in his place; and he was dexterously taken away and carried across to the Scottish Isles, where he remained for some time unrecognised in the kitchen of the Lord of the Isles. He was afterwards, however, detected by a fool in the house of the Lord of the Isles, who knew him formerly in England, and the said Lord of the Isles sent him into Scotland to King Robert III. by the lord of Montgomery. The king, while he lived, maintained this King Richard with becoming honour; and, after him, the Duke of Albany did likewise, and fed, clothed and honoured him with due reverence until his death, and buried him after his death in the friary of Stirling, at the north corner of the altar.

CHAPTER XV.

Marriage of the duke of Rothesay.

IN the year 1399 the duke of Rothesay, Prince David, the eldest son of King Robert III., contracted a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of sir George Dunbar earl of March, on payment of a large sum of money to the king in consideration thereof. But, because these espousals were not celebrated with the consent of the three estates, Archibald Douglas, on payment of a larger sum to the king, solemnly, in the face of the church, joined his own daughter, Mary[21] by name, in wedlock with the aforesaid prince at Bothwell, after sending away the other. The earl of March, however, made his appearance before the marriage was consummated, and went up to the king, saying and beseeching him that he should either have the marriage with his own daughter, which had been promised to him, fulfilled, or restore to him entirely the sum of ready money paid by him. But, as the said earl was not satisfied with the king's answer, he sent a guard into the castle of Dunbar, namely, sir Robert Maitland and some other friends of his, and withdrew into England, where he had an interview with the king of England under a safe-conduct. After his

departure, the said knight, Robert Maitland, urged by I know not what motive or fear, handed over the aforesaid castle in the year 1400 to sir Archibald Douglas, son of Black Archibald earl of that ilk, to keep. But when the earl of March heard of this in England, he wrote a letter and sent over messengers of his own asking them to give him up his castle, seeing that he had not incurred forfeiture, but had come to the court of the king of England, under his safe-conduct, for some other business of his. This, however, was not granted him. So the earl was exceedingly wroth, assembled a force of his friends, sons, allies and others who sided with him in England, and waged a dreadful war on the border of the marches of Scotland, throughout all the borders of Scotland, wherever he could, bringing away into England spoils and prisoners. And withal he himself and the younger Percy, called Henry Hotspur, penetrated into Lothian as far as Haddington with a large army, to the number of two or three thousand, thinking to spend the night there; and they besieged and stormed the castle of Hailes and burnt down the town thereof. But while they thought to spend the night there or thereabouts, and supper was prepared with quantities of roast meat cooking at the fire, Archibald Douglas, the son, came upon them with a considerable force of men-at-arms, and put them to flight, driving them back as far as near Berwick and almost to the gates thereof. Many were taken on the way in Colbranspath Park and elsewhere, and he pursued them and made great havoc of them; and they brought back with them the banner of sir Thomas Talbot.

CHAPTER XVI.

Death of Black Archibald Douglas.

The same year as above died Archibald Douglas earl of that ilk, who was said to be an upright, true and famous knight in his time, and wise and faithful to the king and kingdom. After driving out the nuns at Lincluden, he caused secular canons to be established there, and created a college. He also founded the college of Bothwell. The same year came Henry king of England into Scotland with large numbers of men-at-arms, both by sea and by land, before the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. He came to Haddington in Lothian, and then to Leith, to meet his ships, and there he tarried three days. Meanwhile his men besieged and stormed the castle of Edinburgh, where was at that time the prince of Scotland, the

duke of Rothesay, and with him Archibald earl of Douglas, the second of that name, with many nobles. So when the governor of Scotland, the duke of Albany, saw this, he assembled the nobles from northern parts, and came as far as to Caldermuir with a fine army of men-at-arms. But the king of England, for want of provisions, some say, went back again to England after doing some trifling damage to the country; and as nothing worth remembering was done there we pass on. Now this Henry king of England in his said march did little damage to Scotland, and to all who would seek immunity for their houses, goods, persons, or strongholds he would kindly and graciously grant it, nor would he even inflict any annoyance on the monasteries or others the rectors of churches; and this he did because of the kindness his father the duke of Lancaster, when an exile and outlaw, had experienced in Scotland at the hands of the chiefs, lords and churchmen; and especially on this account would he not allow any harm to be done to the monastery of Holyrood, saying, "For I am half a Scot by blood and in heart, as being of the stock of the noble Cumyns, earls of Buchan. And though I now come hither as an enemy, I do so against my will, as it were, and after provocation, as witness the Most High, because of some letters sent by the great men of the kingdom of Scotland to the king of the French, which, together with the bearers thereof, were taken at sea on their way by some of my men, and are still preserved in my possession: in which letters they asserted that I was in the last degree a traitor. Therefore have I now come hither to see whether he in his innocence durst have an encounter with such a traitor as he has said I am. I came not to cause any annoyance or hurt to any one, so far as is possible." Moreover the aforesaid King Henry, out of respect for Queen Anabella of Scotland, who was at Dunfermline, behaved the more kindly in all he did in the kingdom of Scotland.

CHAPTER XVII.

Betrayal and death of the duke of Rothesay.

In the year 1401 died Walter Trail, bishop of Saint Andrews. Also the same year died the said Anabella, the pride and ornament of the kingdom while she lived. The same year there was a great plague, which was called the Fourth Plague. Now, after the death of the said Queen Anabella, the prince of Scotland, duke of Rothesay, who was wanton in life and

behaviour, but had been kept in check and led by sounder advice, after his mother's death went back to his former wantonness, altogether rejected the advice of the lords who had been assigned him by his father and mother to rule, advise and govern him and guide him away from his wantonness to uprightness of conduct, and went back to his former wantonness, leading a most wanton life, as his end showed. King Robert III. his father, being powerless and decrepit, wrote to his brother the duke of Albany, then governor, that he should be entrusted to the guidance of discreet persons, and be placed and kept in custody for a while, until, being chastened by the rod of discipline, he should know himself better and mend: according to the words of the prophet, Whom God loveth he chideth and chasteneth. But the messengers who bore the letter were sir William Lindsay and sir John Ramornie, who put it into the said duke's head to betake himself to the castle of Saint Andrews, take up his quarters there, and await the new bishop's arrival, guarding himself against all danger from his enemies; for they hinted that there was danger ahead being plotted against him. The prince thoughtlessly believed them and, proposing to go to the bishop's castle, was arrested on his way by the duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, the uncle of the said duke of Rothesay, between Nydie and Struther, near the great cross; and he was taken to Falkland, cruelly thrust into prison, and there starved to death. But, before he was taken to Falkland, they brought him first to the said castle of Saint Andrews, and there kept him under arrest by force of arms until they decided about his death at a council held at Culross by the duke of Albany and Archibald earl of Douglas. Afterwards the aforesaid duke of Albany and the said Archibald Douglas, earl of that ilk, brought this duke of Rothesay by force to the said tower of Falkland upon a small packhorse and clad in a grey jerkin, after the manner of a varlet, so that he might not be noticed on the way; and he was put under the charge of John Wright and John Selkirk, who kept him shut up in a little vault in the said tower to the end of his life. He died in the year 1402, on the seventh day of April, and was buried at Lindores. Some, however, say that, because the duke of Rothesay himself would not yield to their advice when they would have had him arrest his uncle the duke, those two knights, William Lindsay and John Ramornie, fathering their own suggestion on him, persuaded the said duke of Albany that, if he himself did not arrest the duke of Rothesay, he would make him die a violent death. And this they did fearing the said suggestion would be revealed, seeing that

the duke of Rothesay had utterly refused to plot his uncle's death. But others say otherwise, that the said William Lindsay, knight, plotted this mischief against the duke of Rothesay because the latter, following I know not what ill advice, had plighted his troth to the said knight's sister Euphemia, a most beautiful lady, and after knowing her had cast her off because of the above betrothal; wherefore he had conceived a deep grudge and enmity against that prince. In the previous autumn there appeared in the west a star which is called a comet, and which portends the death of a prince, as the astronomers tell us. It shot out large and long rays stretching northwards. The prince himself deemed that the death of a prince was at hand.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Fight of Nisbet.

In the year 1402 there was that engagement on Nisbet Muir between the earl of March, then a fugitive in England, who had with him the forces of the earl of Northumberland, and Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, a noble knight, who distinguished himself in England. But as he remained there too long, longer than had been decided and agreed among his advisers, there came upon him a fresh force of men-at-arms with Patrick,[22] son of the said earl, whereby the said earl of March and his supporters gained the victory. Here fell many nobles of Lothian; the said Patrick Hepburn was slain, and the three [23] brothers Haliburton were taken prisoners, together with Robert Lauder, knight, lord of the Bass, and many others. In the same year Archibald, the new earl of Douglas, came to the duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, and asked leave and assistance from him to avenge the engagement at Nisbet. This he willingly granted him, and he sent his son Murdach Stewart with a strong force of men-at-arms. So the earl assembled his friends and supporters on the southern side of the Forth, and marched into England as far as Newcastle, harrying everything with fire and sword. He had with him, of the northerners, the said Murdach, eldest son of the duke of Albany, and the earls of Angus and Murray and many other nobles. So, as they were coming down towards Newcastle with numberless spoils and prisoners, they were met by sir Henry Hotspur, with whom were the earl of the Marches of Scotland and his supporters, to the number of ten thousand men-at-arms, at a place which is

called Millfield. Here the earl of Douglas, on seeing the English, betook himself with his whole army to some rising ground called Homildon. The said Henry Percy would have attacked them at once; but the said earl would not allow this Henry to stir from his place, but advised and urged him only to send his archers against them, so that by harassing and wounding them they should in course of time so exhaust them that he would afterwards easily overcome them and take them prisoners without a struggle. This was done accordingly. The arrows of the English flew like hail, and they slew many, and wounded many, and many they led away captive. There fell in the battle John lord of Swinton, Adam lord of Gordon, John Livingstone of Callander, Ramsay lord of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, Walter Scot; and there were taken there sir Murdach Stewart, sir Archibald earl of Douglas, sir Thomas earl of Murray, the lord earl of Angus, and many lesser nobles, who are no longer remembered. The said earl of Douglas indeed lost one eye and one of his genitals there.[24]

CHAPTER XIX.

Siege of Cocklaw Castle.

After this, however, sir Henry Percy, trusting in the advice of sir George Dunbar, and thinking he would easily subdue to his sway the whole country of Lothian up to the Scottish sea, as he had, as stated above, already overcome the most valiant and chiefest army leaders both at Nisbet and at Homildon, therefore assembled and took with him a vast number of men-at-arms, and laid siege to the tower of Cocklaw, together with the earl of the marches of Scotland with him, and bravely assaulted the aforesaid tower of Cocklaw. So the commandant of the said place, Gledstanes by name, a discreet squire, seeing no succours for him forthcoming, appointed and agreed with them and promised by a covenant he made that, failing succours, he would surrender the castle to them within a certain time. But within that time the Lord, strong and mighty in battle, who is not wroth day after day and whose wrath shall not continue for ever, but who sometimes softens the scourge of His anger, turned the sword of the English against their own breast and gave them into the hands of the enemy on the borders of Wales; and they that hated them had dominion over them. For there a wonderful battle was fought at Shrewsbury, where many English nobles fell on both sides. Never-

theless the governor of Scotland, unaware of that quarrel among the English, with the assistance of God, who this time turned away the scourge of His anger from the Scots nation, assembled a considerable army of the nobles of Scotland, to the number of sixty thousand men-at-arms, and went off to Lothian before the appointed day; and, as many strong places within the borders of the marches had been taken and kept by the devices of the English at the time of the fights at Nisbet and Homildon, this governor besieged these places and recovered them, subduing them to the king's sway—and notably the castle of Innerwick, which he levelled to the ground; and then he presented himself at Cocklaw with the aforesaid army on the day appointed. As, however, a deadly war had broken out between the said Henry Percy and King Henry of England, the said Henry did not take care to make his appearance at Cocklaw on the appointed day, but treacherously rebelled against the Lord and against His Christ, breaking his oath of fealty and allegiance, and presenting himself with his whole force against the aforesaid king at Shrewsbury aforesaid in a pitched battle. But when the duke of Albany, the governor, heard of this, on the news being made public every one returned home in peace magnifying God.

CHAPTER XX.

Battle of Shrewsbury.

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Earl Archibald, who was taken prisoner at Homildon, was there (at the battle of Shrewsbury) again seized a second time, and given up to the king. There also was slain Robert Stewart of Hartshaw, a very noble knight, who above all others had given the advice that the English and Scots should come to blows.

CHAPTER XXI.

Death of King Robert III. and capture of his eldest son King James I.

In the year 1404 James I. prince of Scotland, for fear of traitorous treachery, was given into the charge of the bishop Henry Wardlaw, who had just been made bishop, in the castle of Saint Andrews. He was fourteen years of age. With him

was the fourth Henry Percy, of the same age, who had taken refuge in Scotland, having been sent thither by his kinsfolk for personal safety after his father's death. But the aforesaid prince James did not remain there long, but was secretly sent by sea with the lord Sinclair to France, to the king of the French, in order that he might there be instructed in manners and virtue and be the more safely kept. So this sir Henry Sinclair earl of Orkney undertook the task with all due diligence, and embarked at the Bass rock; and they put to sea with a suitable equipment and adequate retinue. At Flamborough, however, they happened to be caught in a storm, and the prince and all his suite were taken by their enemies the English and brought to Henry king of England, notwithstanding that a truce had shortly before been concluded between the aforesaid kingdoms of England and Scotland. Some indeed say that the persons of princes are not included in a truce. This prince, however, was kept a prisoner there for eighteen years; and, though the said Henry king of England in his last will directed his son Henry, who made a hostile invasion of France, that the said king of Scotland should be freely sent over to his own country without any ransom whatsoever, yet his son did not take care to fulfil this; but hostages were given and he was ransomed for a large sum of money, and arrived in Scotland in the year 1423, about Easter, in pursuance of a contract of marriage between that king and the sister of the earl of Somerset, now duke of the same. But sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, who had escorted the said prince as far as the ship, was, on his way back, slain near Langhirdmanston (Hermandston) by sir James Douglas, warden of the marches and brother of Archibald earl of Douglas, the reason given being that he had been one of the chief actors in the seizure of King Robert II.[25] No sooner had King Robert III. heard his son had been taken a prisoner to England, than he began to heave piteous sighs from his heart, inwardly giving way to the most bitter grief; and by reason of the fierce anguish of his heart he was as it were half dead, and his spirits drooped, so that after this day, namely the 4th of April, he never took his food with a good heart, until he gave up the ghost to the Most High at the said place, namely the castle of Bute; and he lies honourably buried at Paisley, in front of the high altar. It should be noted that King James, the first of this name, was taken to France by Henry king of England, to the end that, by his means, the earl of Buchan and other Scots sent by the governor, by virtue of the alliance, to defend the noble kingdom of France, should come over to him at his command; but this they would by no

means do while he was a prisoner, notwithstanding they were again and again required and summoned under his seal, on pain of treason and rebellion. After the death of King Robert III., his brother Robert duke of Albany, earl of Fife and Menteith, was again elected and confirmed as governor of Scotland. The same year the town of Stirling was accidentally burnt down. At that time there were seeking refuge in Scotland, for fear of King Henry IV., to wit King Richard, Henry Percy the younger, the lord of Bardolph, a Welsh bishop, the bishop of Bangor, the bishop of St. Asaph, the abbot of Welbeck. The earl of Northumberland indeed, deceived by a certain knight, a confidential friend of his, came into England and was taken prisoner by the king, and with him the lord Bardolph. Both were beheaded, and their heads were publicly fixed on stakes; and many others who took that side suffered death on account of the said Henry Percy.

CHAPTER XXII.

Certain events at this time.

In the year 1405 the battle of Liége was fought by the duke of Burgundy, and many fell in the battle. There was with him the duke of Bavaria, father of the queen of France, who was the mother of Charles VII., now reigning, and who triumphantly delivered France from all subjection to the English. This duke of Bavaria was brother to the duke of Holland. With these also was Alexander earl of Mar, with a large company of Scottish nobles; and he knighted many there, and gained a great and glorious victory not only through his prowess but also through his advice. About this time the abbot of Pontigny was sent into Scotland for the sake of the unity of the church, and to bring about a secession from Pope Benedict. This object was attained, and Martin became sole pope.[26] In the year 1409 Jedburgh castle was taken and levelled to the ground. The same year the lord earl of March was restored to the possession of the castle of Dunbar and of the earldom; but, before he could recover his domain, he gave Archibald earl of Douglas the domain of Lochmaben with Annandale; and to others of the king's councillors he distributed other lands. The same year was the great gale of Saint Kentigern, which tore up by the roots trees in the forests, and produced many extraordinary effects. The following year the castle of Fastcastle was taken by the eldest son of the earl of March. Also, in the year 1411 was

the fight of Harlaw in Garioch—Donald of the Isles against Alexander earl of Mar and the sheriff of Angus—where many nobles fell in battle. The same year the town of Cupar was accidentally burnt down. In the year 1413 came the bulls of the privileges of Saint Andrews University, the day after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; and it was kept as a great holiday in the city, with very great rejoicings. In the same year 1411 the town of Linlithgow was accidentally burnt down. The town of Roxburgh also was burnt down, and the bridge was broken down by the Scots, to wit the lord of Douglas and the earl of March. In the year 1413 George[27] Graham earl of Strathern was killed by two brothers, lords of Oliphant, who after this fled into England; but they were recaptured and brought to justice at Perth, where they were drawn, beheaded and hanged. In the year 1415 the town of Penrith was burnt down by the Scots and the town of Dumfries by the English. In the year '15 above mentioned there was a free exchange of sir Murdach Stewart, the eldest son of the duke of Albany, a prisoner in England since the battle of Homildon, against the younger Henry Percy earl of Northumberland. Also in the year 1414 was held the Council of Constance by the apostolic lord and the prelates of the universal church.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Outbreak of war between England and the kingdom of Scotland, through Henry V. king of England.

In the year of Our Lord 1415 Henry v. king of England called together the prelates and lords of his kingdom, and asked their advice, on peril of their souls, whether he had a better grievance against the kingdom of Scotland or against the kingdom of France to go to war about. It is said that with one accord they said that he had no just pretext for conquest against the kingdom of Scotland, though he had one against the kingdom of France. So he fitted out a fleet with a great host of men-at-arms, and landed in Normandy, and took many cities and towns on first arriving.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Welsh subdued.

CHAPTER XXV.

The earl of Buchan crosses into France, having been sent by the governor to the assistance of the French.

In the year 1419 the castle of Wark was taken by William Haliburton of Fastcastle, who was afterwards treacherously betrayed by sir Robert Ogle and killed, and with him twenty-three noble Scotsmen. While they were unsuspectingly treating for a friendly peace they placed ladders—rope-ladders—at the back of the castle, unnoticed by the others; and, after the castle had been taken, all who were therein were beheaded, and their bodies were cruelly and contemptuously thrown without the walls. In the year 1420[28] envoys were sent by Charles VII. king of France to the governor of Scotland, the duke of Albany, for succour against Henry V., who was then invading the kingdom of France with a great host of men-at-arms, seizing and ravaging everything. So the governor called together the three estates of the realm, and despatched his son John earl of Buchan, with whom was Archibald Douglas, eldest son of the earl of that ilk and nephew of the said duke, with ten thousand[29] men-at-arms splendidly equipped at the expense of the said king of France; and ships were sent both from France and from Spain to the said kingdom of Scotland to bring the said nobles to the said kingdom of France. They were welcomed with the greatest rejoicings, and the chief leaders of the army were given fine places to live in, to wit the castle of Chatillon to the earl of Buchan, the castle of Dunleroi to Archibald Douglas earl of Wigtown, the castle of Langeais to sir Thomas Seton, and the castle of Concoursault to sir John Stewart of Darnley, together with their respective lands and domains and most wealthy towns and fortresses. Now these, until the battle of Baugé, were not thought much of, but were called by the French only mutton-eaters and wine-bibbers and consumers, and of no use to the king and kingdom of France, until and up to the time that the battle of Baugé was fought chiefly by the Scots, where the whole nobility and the flower of the English chivalry fell in battle, on Easter Eve, during an eight days' truce and armistice agreed upon by the chiefs, namely the said lords of Scotland and the duke of Clarence of England, out of reverence for Christ's passion and the taking of the sacrament. Yet on the eve of the said Easter Festival, while the Scots thought no evil, nay, were utterly free from falseness and deceit, and were playing at ball and amusing them-

selves with other pleasant or devout occupations, all of a sudden the English chiefs treacherously rushed upon them from an ambush while they were almost unarmed. But by God's mercy some men of note were playing at a passage over a certain river, and they caught sight of their banners coming stealthily in ambush through the groves and woods. So they hastily gave the alarm at the top of their voices, and defended the passage for a while with bow and spear; else all the chiefs of Scotland, thinking no evil, would have been taken unawares and destroyed with the edge of the sword. But the English chiefs, fully armed *cap-à-pie*, presumptuously thinking they would utterly bear down and defeat the Scots in the twinkling of an eye, left their archers behind in their too great haste; and thus they were routed by the Scots, who were lightly armed and almost without armour. For the latter are most mighty men at a sudden charge and very good with the spear; and they came pouring in at the word with great shouting, roused and emboldened by the bad faith of the English and strong in their own good faith, and thereby rendered braver; and with so impetuous an onset did they assail and bear down the English chiefs with spears and maces of iron and lead and keen-edged swords, that they bore down and felled to the earth both the chiefs and their comrades, as well as their standard-bearers, banners, attendants, pennons, flags and standards, and at the first shock slew the flower of the chivalry of the English army, the duke of Clarence, brother of the king of England, and other generals and earls and magnates, knights and barons, with many other lords; and, when they had despatched their followers who were present, the others behind them, who were coming to the fight, were quickly put to flight. This was at the hour of Vespers. Furthermore the chiefs of Scotland and their army pursued the fugitives as far as the bridge of a certain town which is called Le Mans, eight leagues off, killing some, capturing some and smiting down others, until interrupted by the night, when they escaped in the woods and groves.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Events leading up to the above-mentioned battle of Baugé.

In the year 1421 Henry v. king of England, the invader of France, after conquering Normandy, returned to England to raise a fresh army for the purpose of subduing the whole of France to his sway, and left Thomas duke of Clarence to govern

and defend the said country of Normandy; and the latter was minded to lay siege to the castle of Baugé in the duchy of Anjou during Passion Week. But the earl of Buchan and some of the French commanders, who longed to encounter the said duke of Clarence, marched to the town of le Lude, four leagues off, on Good Friday, to the number of 7000 men;[30] while the duke of Clarence had 10,000 in his army. Then the earl of Buchan sent a reconnoitring party to spy out and reconnoitre the army of the said duke. And they sent bearers of flags from one to the other; for, though both sides were longing to have a brush, yet, out of reverence for Passion Week, they wished to put off the encounter until after Easter, by sending messengers from one to the other, as stated above; and accordingly, on the faith of that, the said duke treacherously and secretly formed the plan of throwing the said earl's army into confusion, surprising them unarmed and utterly destroying them. So these English, coming thus stealthily as already described, were attacked first at the passage by Hugh Kennedy, Robert Stewart of Railston and John Smale of Aberdeen, with their followers. But seeing that, as already said in the chapter before, the duke of Clarence, coming secretly, had left the archers behind, all the nobles who were with him were attacked as they came to the passage, as has been stated; so that the horses, wounded by the archers, refused to cross, and chiefs and magnates were forced to dismount, and thus won their way across by force of arms. Meanwhile the chiefs and nobles of Scotland collected together and took the field in such strength as they could, small though it was as compared with the enemy's; and they bravely charged the leading ranks and began to bear them down. As the battle went on, the force of the Scots waxed stronger, and they prevailed over the fierceness of their enemies, so that they gained an undisputed and decisive victory with glory and honour, bearing down, taking and slaying those present in the field, and obliging those who followed them to take to flight; and they chased and pursued them through the groves and woods until the shades of night. There was the king's brother the duke of Clarence slain, as stated, and the earl of Kyme, the earl of Riddesdale and the lord de Roos, together with the lord Grey of Codnor and many other barons, to the number of twenty-six territorial lords; and there were taken the earl of Somerset, brother of the queen of Scotland, the wife of King James I., and the earl of Huntingdon. Somerset was taken by Lawrence Vernor, a Scot, and by sir John Sibbald knight of Scotland;[31] and also the brother of the said earl of Somerset. The lord of Fewant was also taken there, as well as many other lordlings

of whom there is no mention. Nor do I find any positive account of who killed whom in such a general mêlée; but the common report was that a highland Scot named Alexander Macausland, a native of Lennox, of the household of the lord of Buchan, killed the said duke of Clarence; for, in token thereof, the aforesaid Macausland brought with him to camp a golden coronet of the finest gold and adorned with precious stones, which was found on his helmet upon his head in the field; and he sold it for a thousand nobles to the lord Darnley, who afterwards left that coronet to Robert Houston in pledge for five thousand nobles he owed him. Note that few Scotsmen and Frenchmen died, not more than eighteen, of whom two were Frenchmen, men of quality, namely Charles Boutillier and the brother of the lord des Fontaines. On the day following Easter Sunday news reached the king of the French that all the Scots ran away, and that the French gained the field and the victory and the honour; whereat the king of France, who was at Tours, marvelled greatly. But on the fourth day after the battle the Scottish chiefs presented themselves with their prisoners, two earls of England and five or six great barons, before the king of the French at the said city, while the French had no prisoners. Then the king publicly broke forth in these words, saying, "Ye who were wont to say that my Scots were of no use to me and the kingdom, and were worth nothing save as mutton-eaters and wine-bibbers, see now who has deserved to have the honour and the victory and the glory of the battle."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Madness of King Henry V., and beginning of his mortal pain.

Accordingly, after the death of the duke of Clarence, on hearing of his brother's death and the loss of his men and lords, the king of England straightway raised a strong army, returned to Normandy, landed at Honfleur, and at once besieged the town of Dreux; and he could not contain himself for the great fury and frenzy which was kindled within him, nor could he rest day or night. At length he took the castle; and then he marched off to Orleans and to Melun, taking with him James, afterwards king of Scots, who had long been kept a prisoner in the hands of the English, though taken, as already said, in time of peace; and laying siege to the said place of Melun, he took it, and made the commandant thereof, the lord

de Barbazan, prisoner. Here also were taken twenty or more Scots, who were kept to garrison the said town; and all these he caused to be hanged without ransom, saying they were rebels and traitors against their king, whom he had brought with him against his will. Then, after posting a guard there, he advanced to Meaulx en Brie, where there was an impregnable castle. He took it, however, with the strong hand and with the mighty arm, although not without great slaughter of his men. It should be observed also that, when the king of England had come near Orleans, he besieged Beaugency, and the king of Scotland with him; but with no success. Afterwards however he laid siege to Melun, and took it; and then to Meaulx, and took it. Now there was great scarcity of provisions among them; so some were sent—a certain number from each band—to forage and to ravage the country. And thus, among other praiseworthy doings of theirs, they entered the territory of Saint Fiacre de Brie, and ravaged and wasted everything; and in particular some limbs of the devil made their way into the church where lie the sacred relics of the said saint, as was stated in an earlier chapter, and carried off some silver shoes gilt and studded all over with precious stones. The king, though repeatedly requested, would give no satisfaction for this and other offences of theirs; so he was smitten with the disease of Saint Fiacre aforesaid, burning inwardly in his stomach and internal organs, and died at Saint Maur les Fossés on the river Marne, seven leagues from Paris. He was embowelled at Saint Denis, near Paris, and his entrails were buried there, while they brought his body to London in a leaden coffin.[32] Now the said Saint Fiacre, as already said, is held to be the son of a king of Scots, witness his legend; and so also is the said Saint Maur. There are there two fine monasteries founded in their honour; and the miracles and virtues of these saints are the boast of the whole country. And so, after he had been smitten with the disease, he asked the physicians what kind of malady his was; and they answered that it was the malady of Saint Fiacre, brought on out of revenge; that it is incurable, and ends in a fiery death; and that he was the son of a king of Scotland. Then the king answered, "That is a cursed nation. Wherever I go, I find them under my nose. No wonder," said he, "they are savage and revengeful in life, when they wreak such cruel vengeance after death,"—as was related before. And thus do the aforesaid saints maintain the immunity of their churches and lands, for no one dares commit any flagrant misdeed on their territory. After this the earl of Buchan was made constable

of the kingdom of France; and he assembled his forces and laid siege to Gallardon, near Chartres. The lord Charles, the Dauphin of France, came to his assistance with a large force, and they assaulted and took the castle, slew many Burgundians, but took the English prisoners and admitted them to ransom. Then they captured divers other strongholds on their way, and posted guards therein—such as the town of Avranches, near the borders between Normandy and Brittany, four leagues from Mont St. Michel in Mons Tumba, sending home the English who were there.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Battle of Verneuil.

THE Dauphin of France, seeing the summer was passing away and winter approaching, and looking to the good luck of the Scots and relying on their help, after mature deliberation sent the aforesaid earl of Buchan, Constable of France, into Scotland to bring back a larger army of Scots. He brought back with him Archibald earl of Douglas, second of that name, together with ten thousand men-at-arms and many other nobles, knights, barons, lords and others, splendidly appointed, some of whom landed in Brittany, some at La Rochelle, at the Feast of Fasten's Even in the year 1423. The king of France was defunct, and his son the Dauphin Charles not as yet crowned, as divers cities stood in his way between him and the place of his coronation, the city of Rheims. He was indeed king, although not crowned; but he had few supporters in the kingdom, owing to the difference between him and the duke of Burgundy on account of the murder of the duke of Orleans; and therefore he was in great want of money. Still the king bestowed upon the said earl of Douglas the duchy of Touraine, and the other lords he gratified according to their rank, so that, what with gifts and with promises, they were content to live and die in the cause of the king against the English. At length the brother of the defunct king of England, the duke of Bedford, then regent in France, and with him the earl of Salisbury and the duke of Gloucester with a large train of men-at-arms, laid siege to the castle of Ivry in Perche, and it was arranged with them that, failing succour within forty days, the aforesaid castle was to be surrendered to them. So the chiefs of the Scots, seeing this, prepared with all alacrity and speed to have an encounter with them. And it came to pass thus. When this earl of Douglas and duke of Touraine had been made lieutenant-general of the

king of France, and invested with the ducal coronet at Bourges in Berri with the utmost magnificence, and had afterwards posted guards in his castles and towns, he got ready on the appointed day; and with him were the said earl of Buchan, constable of France and son-in-law of the said lord duke, as well as the whole nobility of Scotland who were there at the time; and of Frenchmen there were the counts de Harcourt, d'Aumale, de Tonnerre, de Narbonne, and many French nobles; and these all fell in the battle, so that hardly any noble either of Scotland or of France escaped from the aforesaid, but was either taken prisoner or slain. There, on some level ground near the town of Verneuil, between the said castle of Ivry and the aforesaid town, died the said duke of Touraine, together with the constable of France, his son-in-law, and James Douglas, his second son, a most gallant knight, and the nephew of the king of Scotland and other barons and knights, to the number of fifty lords of distinction, and a great host of others, both nobles and bowmen, whose numbers it is impossible to fix with certainty, though they are set down at seven thousand Scots and five thousand Frenchmen.[33] Now the manner and cause of the loss of the battle were as follows. The French army did not come quite in time on the appointed day for the recovery of the castle, but on the following day; and thus the castle was surrendered to the English, and the French army at Verneuil in Perche, which was held for the king of England, made ready and gave the assault and took the town. Then they posted their army all round and encamped, thinking the English army would return to Normandy. At length French scouts came in great haste, saying that the whole chivalry of the English were approaching quickly in three separate lines of battle, and were about to charge them. On hearing this the Scottish chiefs fell to wrangling among themselves as to which of them should take precedence, and much jealousy was stirred up; and thus disunited, divided, not thoroughly one in heart, they marched upon the field of battle. The Frenchmen, however, who were at one among themselves, formed another line, while the Lombards and Germans were in reserve in a third line.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Description of the battle.

The French troops being thus drawn up, the English in like manner were drawn up in three lines of battle, in the first of

which was the earl of Salisbury, in the second John duke of Bedford, and in the third Frenchmen, Burgundians, and strangers. The Scots first charged the vanguard of the English, where was the earl of Salisbury, and made the greatest havoc of them. Bringing some of them to the ground, killing some and putting others to flight, they drove them back splendidly, forcing them to retreat upon the second column or line of battle. On seeing this, the Lombards and Germans and Gascons, who had armour on their horses as well as on their bodies and were all mounted, being unwilling to dismount, and thinking the victory declared for the French, began to fall upon the baggage behind the rearguard; for they were as it were a flying column appointed to succour the others in time of need. And in fact at the first onset they charged the English archers and broke their ranks; and, on others coming up, they made a gap through them and passed on to the booty, while the others, in their terror, took to flight and joined the column of the duke of Bedford, where they rallied. And thus the English lords, inspirited by their arrival, renewed their battle cries and, massing themselves in one body, returned and charged the ranks of the French and Scots who, as already stated, were foolishly divided among themselves and allowed gaps in their line. Wherefore the English, caught between the lines of the Lombards and the French, so that they had either to defend themselves or die in battle, made an effort, pushed between their lines, and finally gained the victory, cruelly and mercilessly killing all the lords and nobles. The Lombards, however, after they and their followers had taken the spoil, seeing the result of the battle, the cruel slaughter and the flight of the French, retreated in a body without returning, and did not draw rein until they reached the river Loire, where they divided the spoil. And thus their plundering occasioned the loss of the battle. After the victory, however, the field was pillaged, and heralds sought out the bodies of the lords, to wit of the duke of Touraine, of the earl of Buchan, who was also the constable, and of James Douglas, the said duke's son; and their bodies were taken to Tours in a wagon, and were buried in one and the same grave in the cathedral church of the said city, in the middle of the choir. But the duke of Bedford, after gaining this victory, amid his pomp and vainglory was smitten with most loathsome leprosy on his return to Rouen, and expired, leaving the government to the earl of Salisbury, who began to exercise the office of regent in the most overbearing manner. For he longed so ardently to possess himself of the domain of the duke of Orleans, who had remained a

prisoner in England ever since the battle of Agincourt, that he prepared to besiege the said city of Orleans with his whole forces. This took place in the year 1427, and he brought with him the lord earl of Suffolk, sir Launcelot Lisle, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Willoughby and many others, to the number of thirty thousand men-at-arms, with their chariots and horsemen, and with their formidable warlike engines and cannon and other necessaries required for a siege. He laid the siege in the year 1428, after first taking the surrounding strongholds and villages and fortresses, such as the towns of Beaugency, Mehun sur Loire, Janville en Beauce, Laferté Ymbaud, Laferté Newart, Laferté Galis, Saint Memmyn, Saint Benoit, and Jargeau; and he also took the monastery churches in the suburbs of the city, and these were altered and converted and made into bastille forts on all sides of the city, both on the islands of the river Loire as well below as above the said city, and also in the monastery churches in the surrounding suburbs, as already stated, to the number of seven bastilles most strongly fortified. The strongest of these forts was at the end of the bridge of Orleans, where there was a tower very strong in plan, and almost impregnable, surrounded by deep water on all sides, and carefully fashioned with well fortified ramparts; and in it was a commandant puffed up with the utmost arrogance and conceit, Glasinden by name. All round the town were the bulk of the besiegers, in places underground and mines dug in the earth for fear of the missiles shot from the city, together with merchants and handicraftsmen in all the crafts in the world pertaining to war, and all kinds of merchandise, as in a fine town. In these underground trenches and mines, indeed, there were underground buildings with chimneys for fires, with underground ways and quarters, divided and girt about like the quarters of a city, to the end that the merchants and other workmen might go round the city and find a sale for their merchandise unharmed and without danger; and there were even taverns and all kinds of eatables and other commodities, as well as all sorts of other wares necessary for the use of man, for the space of about a mile towards Paris, whence their provisions came to them.

CHAPTER XXX.

Same continued.

To pass on, after these things the earl of Salisbury, who went the round of all the forts every day to visit and cheer up his

men, was one day killed in the aforesaid tower at the bridge by a small cannon ball. Sir Lancelot de Lisle was likewise killed by a ball in the island bastille, as also many others. Moreover the English ran short of provisions, and sent the lord Talbot with two thousand men-at-arms to the city of Paris to fetch provisions, leaving the conduct of the siege to the earl of Suffolk, whom the earl of Salisbury had left as governor of the kingdom in his stead on behalf of the king of England. But when the Frenchmen heard of this, they did their best to devise some obstacle to throw in their way. Now it so happened that the king of France had delivered lord Darnley, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Cravant through his own fault, from the hands of his enemies; so he sent him with twenty thousand men-at-arms to cut off the said convoy of provisions. But Talbot came from Paris during Lent with fifteen hundred men-at-arms and with two hundred wagons loaded with fish and wine, and hastened through the country of Beauce to the siege; and, when they found the French and Scots in their way, the English got down and, making themselves a wall with the wagons, offered them battle. As, however, the duke of Bourbon was present with the French troops as commander, as were also many other nobles of the kingdom, the French would not attack them, but wanted to surround them at a distance and hem them in until they should be worn out with hunger and cold and surrender without a blow; for, being without hope of rescue, they were already half conquered, and would willingly save themselves by then surrendering to them. The said lord Darnley was of a contrary opinion, however, and said he would dismount; and those who would dismount with him, let them do so in God's name; and those who would not, let them remain behind. Then he straightway dismounted with a thousand Scots and advanced upon the English who were within their stronghold. He could do nothing with them, however, but was driven back by the aforesaid lord Talbot, who sallied out from the stronghold; and he was slain, and many nobles with him. Among these died the lord of Orval and many other lords of France, and princes and lords who waited on horseback and would not stir until they were, while on their horses, pierced with arrows by the English, and all put to flight. So, leaving there the Scots and Frenchmen who had been killed or taken prisoners, the English, after their glorious victory, departed in peace to their siege; and as they were bringing with them great quantities of herrings in barrels, they therefore dubbed the aforesaid the Battle of the Herrings to this day. But the

said lord Darnley was brought to Orleans by his herald, and buried there in one of the chapels of the cathedral church, where during his life he had founded in perpetuity a daily mass sung aloud by the children of the choir of the aforesaid church of the Holy Cross, giving the canons two thousand gold crowns, publicly paid in the chapter, for the building of the church, which had not yet been completed. But the duke of Burgundy, on hearing this news, took counsel and, without the knowledge of the English chiefs, sent his messengers to the town of Bourges in Berry and to the towns of Angers, Tours and Lyons on the Rhone, that all these towns should surrender themselves into his hands, lest haply after the loss of the city of Orleans, which all held to be lost beyond recovery, the English chiefs should subdue to their sway the whole country, together with the aforesaid cities and towns, and so the whole kingdom; and thus the kingdom might perhaps never at all be recovered from their grasp by the kings of the French, but remain for ever in slavish subjection to the English after the expulsion of its native princes, whereof he himself was the cause. For, with the loss of these four or five cities, without any doubt whatever all the other cities that owned allegiance to the king would have been lost, so that he would not have in the kingdom a place where he could lay his head.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Same continued.

THE duke of Burgundy indeed may be thought to have been sincere in proposing this to the whole of the citizens of the aforesaid cities, regretting he had given such countenance and help to these English, and fearing lest the evils which through his fault and agency had come upon the kingdom of France might in time to come be the cause of his condemnation and the disinheritance of his heirs. So the rulers and governors of the cities thankfully accepted the offer, provided he promised them, by taking his great oath on the Gospels and sending it to them ratified by his seal, that he would never allow them to be brought under subjection to the English. And this was accordingly done, and it was announced to the king of France by the aforesaid citizens, who said they would rather die than be brought under the English yoke. When the king of France, however, saw this, he was exceedingly frightened, and made every effort to get ready to go to King James of Scotland, the first of this name. For he was surrounded by deadly enemies,

the duke of Brittany on the west, the duke of Burgundy and the English on the north, the duke of Bourbon and the duke of Savoy on the east, and the prince of Orange and the king of Arragon on the south; and he was a young man and had little money, without which no effective good can be done in war. And so, without hope of aid, despairing of any help, counsel or sympathy, penniless, without servants, without fighting men, grieving in heart, left desolate and in great straits, desiring to die rather than live, he would lift up his voice and weep, saying in tearful accents, "Unto Thee have I lifted up mine eyes, who dwellest in the Heavens," and "I have lifted up mine unto the hills from whence cometh my help;" and again, "I called upon the Lord in my trouble." For his confessor, the bishop of Chartres, was a devout man, and he confessed to him daily every day; and on festivals he took the sacrament of the body of Christ, heard three masses devoutly kneeling, and never failed to say matins and the commemoration of souls; and these and other orisons he performed every week day. And thus, on his way to La Rochelle, where he was going to embark, he transferred himself to the strongest city in the whole of France, called Poitiers, and shut himself up there. There were there at the time the lords of the Parliament of Paris, who had been driven out of the said city of Paris; and these advised him by all means to adhere to the plan he had formed. But the merciful and pitiful Lord, patient, long-suffering and very merciful, who hath His eyes upon the righteous and His ears ever open to their prayers, and who turneth His face upon evildoers that he may wipe out the memory of them from the earth, heard his prayers, and sent him help from His holy place; sending him over a maid, a virgin girl, before this the most faint-hearted and poor-spirited of all creatures, tiny and petty in stature, yet taught and instructed from heaven, and animated, advised and guided by the Holy Spirit, by whom, as her deeds prove, she was inspired. And she delivered him from all the snares of all his enemies, and gave them into the hands of the enemy, and they that hated them had dominion over them. Her arrival and marvellous works shall be told at length below. Nevertheless a noble and generous heart must not let the noble valour and bravery of the said city of Orleans fall into oblivion. For, in view of their lord the duke of Orleans being a prisoner and captive in the hands of the English ever since the battle of Agincourt, they with one accord caused it to be publicly proclaimed that they had gold and silver in the greatest abundance, and plenty of provisions and arms, both offensive and defensive, for two years to come for two thousand

men-at-arms; and whatever nobles and brave leaders might wish to take part with them in defending their city, they would defend the aforesaid city with their lives; and straightway they publicly, in the sight of all, opened the storehouses, granaries and taverns of the town, and poured out flasks and pulled out stores, so that wine, grain, meat and fish and all other kinds of provisions were free to the men-at-arms without payment. On hearing this, there came such a crowd of distinguished men-at-arms, that they made the good ones their chosen vessels and turned out the bad. Then they sallied out daily and made such cruel havoc of their enemies, routing and killing them and leading them captive into the town, that the king, on hearing of it, was so comforted and consoled within himself, that from that hour every day his spirits rallied greatly from day to day, and he ennobled them and granted them freedom in perpetuity. And thus in these days the aforesaid girl, stirred up by the Holy Spirit, was commanded to come to the king.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Account of the wonderful girl who was sent by God's providence to succour France—Her exploits.

In those days the Lord stirred up the spirit of a certain wonderful girl, a native of the borders of France, in the duchy of Lorraine, near the royal castle of Vaucouleurs, in the bishopric of Toul, towards the Empire. This girl was kept by her father and mother to the task of tending a flock of sheep, daily holding a distaff in her fingers; and she had not known man, and was void of all offence, as was asserted, and of good report among her neighbours.[34] . . .

End of Book X.

BOOK XI.

CHAPTER I.

King James I.

After the renowned princes King Robert II. and King Robert III. and his eldest son David duke of Rothesay had gone the way of all flesh and the kingdom had been left to the governance of the duke of Albany, brother of the said King Robert III., and after the afore-named chiefs, namely John earl of Buchan, Archibald earl of Douglas and his son James, and divers other lords and lordlings, who had been sent into France at the instance of the king thereof, had been left on the field of battle, the said Robert duke of Albany died and was buried at Dunfermline. In his time, it is said, great fruitfulness prevailed in the kingdom. But on his death the prelates and lords of the kingdom took counsel and delivered their King James, the first of this name, out of the hands of his enemies, giving hostages for a hundred thousand marks and contracting a marriage with the niece of the king of England and daughter of the earl of Somerset, now duke thereof, and brought him back to the kingdom; and all the chief men of the kingdom assembled in a body at Scone and crowned him with glory and honour, after the manner of his predecessors. As security for his liberation and the foregoing sum, many magnates of the kingdom were sent as hostages into England in the year 1424. Now this queen Joan was the daughter of John Beaufort marquess of Dorset and earl of Somerset, who was the son of the lord John of Gaunt, the son[1] of Henry duke of Lancaster and fourth king of England of that name. The queen's mother was the daughter of the earl of Kent, brother of King Richard II. who was driven out into Scotland, and his name was Thomas of Holland. Because of the marriage, however, and as the said

queen's dowry, the king was let off half the said sum. So they were both crowned by the bishop of Saint Andrews on the twenty-first day of May in the year 1424. But Murdach Stewart, by a special privilege granted to him as duke of Albany and earl of Fife, set the said king upon the royal seat; and many aspirants were girded and decorated with the belt of knighthood by the king, as will be shown later, together with the names of the hostages given and the king's expenses in England. For the English, in their cunning, would not say that the sum of a hundred thousand marks which they asked for his liberation was given as his ransom, but rather for his expenses incurred while in their charge for the safe keeping of his person; and for this sum were the said hostages given. Some of these remained there until their death, others freed themselves, others escaped, others ransomed themselves with their own money; so that some of them remained there fully thirty-five years, and their expenses and damages cost the kingdom of Scotland a hundred thousand pounds. Now the names of the knights made at the king's coronation are these: first, Archibald, third earl of Douglas of that name; William earl of Angus; George earl of March; the lord Hailes; Thomas Hay lord of Yester; Walter,[2] and Walter Haliburton; Patrick Ogilvy; David Stewart of Rosyth; the lord Seton; the lord Gordon; the lord Kinnoul; the earl of Crawford; John Red Stewart; David Murray; John Stewart of Cardenen; William de la Hay, constable of Scotland; John Scrimgeour; Alexander Irvine; Herbert Maxwell; Herbert Herries of Terreagles; Andrew Gray of Foulis; the lord Kilmaurs; the lord Dalhousie; the lord Crichton.

CHAPTER II.

Arrest of lords for the crime of high treason.

In the year of Our Lord 1424 Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdach Stewart duke of Albany, Malcolm Fleming lord of Cumbernauld and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock were arrested in Edinburgh Castle by the king's command. Walter was placed in confinement at the castle of Bass, and Malcolm at Dalkeith; while the said Thomas Boyd was discharged and set at liberty. Immediately after their arrest the king was crowned, as aforesaid, on the 22d[3] day of the month of May. Then, on the sixth day after his coronation, he held his parliament at Perth, where he proposed many things to be enacted for the good of

the kingdom and the common weal. Afterwards, as he perceived that the revenues of the crown of the realm had greatly dwindled down, and that there was left to him little of the royal possessions besides ward and relief and customs to keep up his position, with consent of the three estates of the realm a certain tax, namely twelve pence in the pound out of all farms, yearly rents, grain and cattle and other produce of the lords spiritual and temporal, was granted to him for the two years following, that he might free his hostages. But, because this total sum pressed too heavily upon the kingdom, the whole was not levied, but fourteen thousand marks the first year; and afterwards, until the contract of marriage between his daughter Margaret and the Dauphin of France, which was in the year 1433, no taxes were levied in the kingdom. Moreover, after one tax had been paid for the embassy about this contract, as the communities grumbled about their poverty, the king caused all that had been received to be restored, and levied no more taxes. In that same year '33 Duncan earl of Lennox was arrested in Edinburgh Castle, as also Robert Graham, afterwards his betrayer, who was placed in confinement at Dunbar. At this time also the town of Linlithgow was burnt down, together with the church thereof. The same year, on the 13th day of March, the king held his second parliament at Perth, and there he had Murdach Stewart duke of Albany arrested, as well as his son Alexander, whom he himself had knighted with twenty-six others. He also arrested the lord Montgomery and Alan of Otterburn, the secretary of the duke of Albany; and he at once had the castles of Falkland and Doune in Menteith captured. Afterwards the duke was transferred to Caerlaverock and his duchess to Tantallon; and, of the said duke's sons, James alone escaped, who burnt down Dumbarton and killed sir John Red Stewart, to wit the lord of Burley. He afterwards was put to flight and fled to Ireland, while five of his accomplices were indicted at Stirling, condemned, drawn and hanged after being beheaded.[4] The bishop of Argyll or Lismore likewise fled across to Ireland to return no more, for he knew he was a culpable abettor against the king's majesty. He was of the order of Preaching Friars.

CHAPTER III.

Execution of the duke of Albany and his sons.

On the 18th day of the month of May in the year 1424 the king continued his parliament at Stirling, and by an assize of

earls and barons from among the great men of the kingdom despatched Murdach duke of Albany and his two sons, Walter Stewart and his brother Alexander, and also Donald earl of Lennox, an old man of great age; and all four were beheaded on a mound in front of the castle, and buried in the church of the Preaching Friars. The names of the lords composing the said assize were these: the lord Walter Stewart earl of Atholl, the king's uncle; the third Archibald earl of Douglas; Alexander Stewart earl of Mar; William Douglas earl of Angus; Alexander earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles; George Dunbar earl of March; William Sinclair earl of Orkney; James Douglas of Balvany and Abercorn, afterwards earl of Avandale; Gilbert Hay, constable of Scotland; sir John Montgomery; the lord Lorne; the lord Somerville; the lord Terreagles; the lord Dalkeith; the lord Kilmaurs; the lord Calendar; Thomas Hay of Yester; Patrick Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus; John Forester of Corstorphine; Walter Ogilvy of Luntrethan.[5] These lords, earls and great barons were peers of the realm and greater lords; and they were sworn as an assize upon them, and adjudged them worthy of death and guilty of high treason—for a peer must be tried by his peers. And so they suffered capital punishment, and their bodies and property were confiscated to the king.

Here follows about the ambassadors of the king of France sent to Scotland to contract a marriage between Margaret, the eldest daughter of the king of Scotland, and Louis, the Dauphin of France, who were both still minors, under marriageable age.

In the year 1425, after the battle of Verneuil, the king of the French sent on an embassy to the king of Scotland the archbishop of Rheims, duke and principal peer of the ecclesiastical peers of France, together with sir John Stewart of Darnley, constable of the Scots army in France, to contract a marriage between Margaret, the eldest daughter of the said king of Scotland [and the Dauphin]. They were received with great respect, magnificence and honour, and succeeded in despatching their business. But because they were under marriageable age, charters were drawn up and sealed with the seals of the chiefs and promises were given on either side that the marriage should be consummated between the aforesaid Margaret and Louis of France when of full age, when the time should come: for the aforesaid bishop was chancellor of France, and had with him the great seal of France. And thus far the matter went for the time, and the ambassadors returned to France, and made a full report. But the king of Scotland was most highly pleased with what was said and done to him in this matter, and sent back distinguished envoys, men of great prudence and discreet-

ness, master Henry Leighton, bishop of Aberdeen, master Edward Lawder, archdeacon of Lothian, and sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Justiciary of Scotland, with a certain commission and instructions concerning the said matter, and to render adequate thanks to the aforesaid king of the French for so great an honour. When therefore this had been done on either side, five or six years afterwards ambassadors were again sent to either kingdom, and the aforesaid marriage was completed with the utmost magnificence; and first the king of France sent the chief steward of his household, the sieur Arnault Girart, governor of La Rochelle, and with him master Aymer Martin, licentiate of decrees, commissioned to contract a marriage by a pledge for the future with the aforesaid Margaret, affiancing her on behalf of her husband the Dauphin of France.

CHAPTER IV.

Consummation of the marriage between the Dauphin and Margaret.

In the year 1436 the king of Scotland sent his eldest daughter Margaret to France with a distinguished company of lords, knights and brave men most admirably appointed, in such becoming apparel and so splendidly marshalled, that never within living memory had such and so remarkable an army, so proudly arrayed, so skilfully commanded, been sent out from the kingdom of Scotland. At the head of this army, for contracting this marriage between the aforesaid parties, were the bishop of Brechin, the lord John Crannock, and the lord Sinclair, lord earl of Orkney and admiral of Scotland, together with fifty other worshipful knights and squires and their attendant officers, and also with a mighty fleet of men-at-arms to escort her safely to the king of France, for fear of the English; and in the said fleet there were three thousand well-ordered and protected men-at-arms. But she was a girl of ten, clad in splendid apparel, most costly and gorgeous, and with a fine figure and very lovely face. As for the marriage, it was performed in the face of the church at the royal palace the castle of Tours in Touraine by the above-mentioned archbishop of Rheims, in the presence of the kings of France and Sicily[6] and their queens, and also the old queen of Sicily, mother of the said queen of France and mother also of the said king of Sicily, together with the ambassadors of Scotland and many nobles of France, both lords and ladies of France. Neverthe-

less, though they were married and joined in matrimony, yet they did not seek the nuptial bed until two and a half years after, after the lapse of which they were of full marriageable age and were put to bed at Gien sur Loire; and thus the marriage was completely consummated in the name of Jesus Christ. In the year 1426 the king held his parliament at Inverness, and the Lord of the Isles was arrested there, as also the countess of Ross, his mother, daughter and heiress of the lord Walter Leslie, last earl of Ross. He also had almost all the north country nobles arrested; and this parliament, they say, daunted them greatly and made them fear the king. Angus Duff was arrested there, together with his four sons and many other evildoers, who were summoned to the gathering, arrested, indicted, tried and condemned, and some were beheaded, some hanged, others outlawed and banished. And thus he restored peace in the country for a long time, and it remained quiet. As for the Lord of the Isles, however, seeing he was a young man and led by caprice, he would not inflict capital punishment upon him; but he chastised some of his advisers, and would have him remain with him in his household, as he drew his origin from the blood-royal, to the end that, by being accustomed to be among nobles, he might amend his ways in manners and virtue; so that, being reformed by habits of virtue, he might more fully win the king's liking and the favour of the nobles. He, however, could not bear the mockery of certain persons, so in a little while he departed secretly and, following the advice of evil men, burnt down the royal town of Inverness out of revenge for his arrest. The king, wroth beyond measure thereat, assembled an army and marched northwards in pursuit of him; and many of his army left him and went over to the king, to wit the Clan Gillequhatan and the Clan Cameron. But, on seeing this, the Lord of the Isles, by the advice of some of his friends, went back to the king unconditionally, purely and simply, and threw himself upon his mercy; and the mild and merciful king forgave him at the request of the lords, and sent him off to be imprisoned in Tantallon Castle in the custody of the earl of Angus, the king's nephew. Afterwards, by the king's desire, he came to Holyrood House and, stripped of all his garments but his shirt and breeches and kneeling before the high altar, implored the king's mercy and, holding his drawn sword by the point, tendered and presented it into the king's hands; and therewith all the great men of the kingdom and the queen interceded for him. But he sent his mother the countess over to Inchcolm and she remained in confinement there for a year and more.

CHAPTER V.

Issue of the king and queen.

In the year 1430 there were born unto the king two male twins, the sons of the king and queen, whereat all the world exulted with very great joy all over the kingdom; and in the town of Edinburgh, seeing that they were born in the monastery of Holyrood, bonfires were lighted, flagons of wine were free to all and victuals publicly to all comers, with the sweetest harmony of all kinds of musical instruments all night long proclaiming the praise and glory of God for all his gifts and benefits. They were born on the 16th day of the month of October. The first was called Alexander, and he died in youth. The second was James, the second of this name, who died at Roxburgh, most deeply revered, on the third day of August in the year 1460, and was interred in the church of Holyrood, where he was born. But King James I., their father, created a great many knights on the occasion of their birth, to wit these two sons of his over the baptismal font, and in the second place he created many others in their honour, the first of whom was the son of a lord of the city of Rome who happened to be there, and who was called a prince, together with many youths, sons of lords of the realm, such as William, eldest son of the earl of Douglas, a young man who was afterwards beheaded; also William, son and heir of James Douglas of Abercorn, afterwards killed in Stirling Castle; also John Logan, lord of Restalrig after his father; also James, heir of the lord Crichton, also James Edmonston; also the son and heir of the lord Borthwick. The same year the king had a mortar brought over from Flanders, called *The Lion*, now in England. In the year '31 was opened the council of Basle, where a very great schism arose through the duke of Savoy, in the first year of Pope Eugenius, the fourth of this name. The same year were arrested Archibald Douglas, earl of that ilk, the king's nephew, and also sir John Kennedy, who also was the king's nephew, for certain reasons. But the king in his parliament at Perth forgave the Lord of the Isles and the earl of Douglas, while John Kennedy, having been imprisoned, escaped and exiled himself irretrievably. There were also born unto the king six daughters, the first of whom was married to the Dauphin of France, and died childless in the year '45. The same year, shortly before the parliament, an Islander named Dolny (Donald) Balloch killed Alan Stewart earl of Caithness, son of the earl of Athol, and

twelve nobles and their followers in a warlike encounter at Inverlochy; while Alexander Stewart earl of Mar withdrew in time and saved himself. The same year Angus Macduff and Angus Murray, both of whom had shortly before escaped from imprisonment by the king, had an encounter together; and of three thousand fighting men barely thirty escaped on either side. In the year 1429 was founded the Carthusian monastery called the Valley of Virtues, namely the Charterhouse, in the South Inch of Perth, and its first prior was called Oswald, a monk of great distinction and wisdom. In the year 1433 there was burnt at Saint Andrews a certain heretic called Paul Craw,[7] one of the Prague sect, sent hither to sow the seeds of his heretical perverseness. These sects do not believe in purgatory, detest all monasticism, sneer at pilgrimages, abhor the orders and despise the keys of the church; and they even do not believe the article of faith about the resurrection of the dead—and many other erroneous conclusions.

CHAPTER VI.

The English craftily wish to break the league between France and Scotland.

About this time there came from England a certain knight who was sent by the king of England to the king of Scotland and his council with a certain commission and instructions; and the king, being informed thereof by certain persons, assembled a general council at Perth in the month of October, where the business proposed was the making a lasting peace with the English, the restoration of all castles, towns and possessions which were known to have belonged to the realm of Scotland for a certain time past, and especially Roxburgh and Berwick, and all other places and possessions which they had formerly wrongfully wrested from the realm of Scotland; and that they should make a lasting peace with them. And this they proposed in the king's presence before the high altar in the church of the Preaching Friars at Perth. They were briefly answered that the Scots would willingly have peace with freedom, but not otherwise; and this they longed for heartily with one accord. At length, when the votes and opinions of each were asked, the abbots of Scone and Inchcolm answered that the king could not by any means decide as to a lasting peace with the king of England without the consent of the king and kingdom of France, seeing that by provision, consent and decree of

the general councils of the kingdoms both of France and of Scotland, as confirmed by the apostolic see, a perpetual peace and alliance agreed upon, ratified, approved and confirmed existed between the kingdoms, so that the aforesaid alliance could by no means be infringed without consulting the king of France and his parliament and the supreme pontiff. And all the kings of France and of Scotland, from the time of King Charlemagne until now, have sworn by the great oath on the Body to keep and sacredly observe this alliance. But what affects all ought to be approved by all; therefore etc. Moreover the king of Scotland, then present, and the other leading men of the realm lately took a bodily oath, as already said, to keep and observe this. On this subject there was much wrangling and debate, with divers arguments urged on either side, between the aforesaid abbots on the one hand and the abbot of Melrose on the other, about making an alliance and perpetual peace with the English without the consent and good will of the king of the French; and that it would be more advantageous to have a peace with the English, who were near neighbours, than with Frenchmen who were far away. Master John Fogo, master in the sacred page, supported this view with all his might, while others, on the contrary, maintained the opposite. In the end it was decided that the inveterate grudge of the English against Scotland does not die out, and that this offer of alliance is nothing but a way of contriving to sow schism and divisions in the kingdom and between us and our friends and allies of France, and to stir up strife where unwavering trust, true love and brotherly concord are firmly rooted; and that these English, though they promised much, would actually for all that perform nothing. For, when they seek occasion to withdraw from their friends, they always know how to find it, as is proved in their doings of old by the evidence of the wickedness they have wrought, and by experience, which teaches practical wisdom. And thus finally the matter was left undecided, so that nothing was done to impair the alliance between France and Scotland. In the year 1433 the king took Dunbar Castle and entrusted the custody thereof to the lord of Hailes; and in the next, at his parliament held at Perth, he dispossessed the lord George Dunbar, earl of the Marches, on account of his father's shortcomings, though he readily proved the king's forgiveness for his own acts. Nevertheless the king invested him as earl of Buchan, and gave him forty pounds a year for his life; and their lordships the councillors of parliament allowed the same to him and his heir after the death of King James I., at least until King James II. came of age.[8] In

the year 1435 died Alexander Stewart earl of Mar, who bore himself stoutly in the battles of Liége and Harlaw and in many other engagements. As he was a bastard, his succession actually went to the king; though legally, according to some, the lords of Erskine and of Lyle ought to have succeeded by hereditary right.

CHAPTER VII.

How King James I. besieged Roxburgh Castle.

In the above year, namely '35, King James I. raised a very strong army and besieged Roxburgh Castle about the beginning of the month of August. There were in number more than two hundred thousand men-at-arms. But they waited there a fortnight doing nothing worth recording because of a detestable split and most unworthy difference arising from jealousy; so, after losing all their fine large guns, both cannon and mortars, and gunpowder and carriages and wagons and many other things utterly indispensable for a siege, they returned home most ingloriously without effecting their object. The same year also the legate of the lord pope Eugenius, namely the bishop of Urbino, came into Scotland a little before Christmas, and was admitted by the king and clergy to obtain a hearing in parliament at Perth, beginning on the 4th day of February. But owing to the mishap of the unexpected death by which the king was overtaken, he did not discharge the duties of a legate, but departed sorrowing beyond measure. The same year died the bishop of Dunkeld, called De Cardine, and the lord James Kennedy, the king's nephew, was elected, and remained as bishop there for two years, being promoted in the third year to the bishopric of Saint Andrews; and after his lordship the lord Alexander Lauder, a distinguished man, was, by apostolic provision, promoted to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and lived only a year, dying at Edinburgh in the year '40. He was succeeded by master James Bruce, who did not remain long there, but was by the pope's authority translated to the bishopric of Glasgow; and within two or three years after his promotion he died at Edinburgh and was buried at Dunfermline, in Saint Mary's chapel, in the year 1447; and thus he was only seven years or so bishop in the two places. He was succeeded in the bishopric of Dunkeld by master John Railston, the king's secretary, who also did not live long; and in the bishopric of Glasgow he was succeeded by master William Turnbull, keeper of the privy seal, who in like manner did not

last long.[9] And thus in these two bishoprics within ten years ten bishops presided—or thereabouts, to be correct—as the facts show. About the same time, in the year 1445, Margaret, the Dauphiness of France, most deeply beloved by the king and queen of France and by her own husband, and while in the bloom of youth, almost ruled the king and kingdom at will by her advice, with consummate tact and wisdom; whereby she was most thoroughly beloved and trusted by the king and queen of France, and her words were listened to. But woe is me that I should have to write what I sorrowfully relate about her death! For Death, who snatches all living things equally, without distinction of persons, snatched away that lady after a short illness to pay the debt of nature in the bloom of youth, without issue of the royal house of France; and her unlooked for death at Chalons in the county of Champagne, where she lies interred, cast the gloom of overwhelming grief over the hearts of many in both France and Scotland. I, who write this, saw her every day alive, playing with the king and queen of France, and going on thus for nine years. But afterwards, at the time of the contracting of the marriage between King Henry of England and the daughter of the king of Sicily, brother of the queen of France, within eight days I saw her in good health and dead and embowelled and laid in a tomb at the corner of the high altar, on the north side, in the cathedral church of the said city of Chalons, in a leaden coffin; and the king said that after a little while he would have her taken up and placed in Saint Denis, among all the kings and queens there. Here follows her epitaph, which was placed upon her tomb after her death, in the French tongue; only it is here translated into the Scottish tongue, by command of that lady's brother, King James II. of famous memory.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lament of the lord Dauphin of France for the death of his wife the said Margaret.[10]

CHAPTER IX.

Death of King James I.—Measureless grief of all Christendom thereat.

In the year of Grace 1436, after the king had returned from the siege of Roxburgh and had constituted his parliament at

Perth to give a hearing to the legate of the supreme pontiff, Satan entered into the hearts of some traitors who had from times long past been plotting his death with the spite of an old and inveterate grudge, whereby they had formerly oftentimes treacherously sought him in many places, trying to kill him; but they could have no power over him unless it were given them from above, seeing that his hour was not yet come. At length they seized a favourable opportunity, and one Robert Graham and his accomplices Christopher Chambers and his brother Thomas, both sons of John Chambers, a burgess of the said city of Perth, with whom were two brothers surnamed Hall and many others associated with them, such as Robert Stewart, son of David Stewart, son and heir of Walter Stewart earl of Athol, the uncle of King James of whom we are speaking —which David was then in England as a hostage for the aforesaid king and his liberation—murdered him at the dead of night in his own room in the Minorite monastery of Perth, in the first week of Lent. This was the work of that old serpent and ancient of evil days, the above-mentioned earl of Athol, who had for a long while been craftily aspiring to the crown, and who was the chief adviser in the destroying of Murdach duke of Albany and his sons, as well as of the duke of Rothesay, to the end that he, a seeming innocent lamb, having got them out of the way by the crime of others, might the more readily reach the topmost pinnacle of power. He indeed was the fosterer of the whole of the treacherous betrayal of that king, whereby death came into the kingdom of Scotland, an irreparable loss which shall never be wiped out in the time of living men: for the fame of his name went out through all the countries of Christendom. Such were his virtue, gallantry and sound sense that we shall never be able to find in any record his like among the princes in these parts on this side of the channel. For if the whole world could properly be included under the rule of one person, he, on the strength of his sound sense, his wisdom and the claims of his virtues and his prowess, fully deserved to be promoted to the government of the whole. All the dwellers in this kingdom, indeed, drank of the cup of the bitterness of his death, which the ruffians concerned in this bitter death, who took part in his murder, gave them to drink; whereby all the meaner sort were poisoned as if with draughts of gall. He himself, however, had confessed himself and been absolved from guilt and punishment by the apostolic legate eight days before this. But this Robert Graham and his accomplices, most wicked traitors, gained access to the said most gallant prince's chamber through the means of the afore-

said Robert Stewart, after getting rid of the guards and surrounding and encompassing it with bands of traitors, and about ten o'clock at night ruthlessly and mercilessly slew and murdered that prince, who was unarmed and undressed. He made a marvellous defence before he died, knocking down on all sides with the force of his arm the first who rushed upon him, even until so great a crowd closed round him that he could no longer defend himself from them all. And thus, like an innocent lamb led to the slaughter, he expired giving thanks and imploring mercy from the Most High, with his hands raised to heaven; and, after his wounds were washed, eight-and-twenty deep stabs were found on his breast, above the navel. This persecution he suffered for righteousness' sake. On seeing this, the pope's legate, who within eight days before had absolved him from guilt and punishment, uttered a great cry with tearful sighs, and kissed his piteous wounds; and he said before all the bystanders that he would stake his soul on his having died in a state of grace, like a martyr, for his defence of the common weal and his administration of justice. He left behind him his son James II., six years old, and six daughters, Margaret the Dauphiness of France, Isabella duchess of Brittany, Mary countess of Buchan, married in Zealand, and Eleanor duchess of Austria. These four daughters married abroad; but the other two in Scotland, to wit Joan countess of Morton and Mary countess of Huntly: to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever.

CHAPTER X.

Fearful penalty exacted for the king's death.

After this, however, the aforesaid traitors and their retainers were taken, imprisoned, condemned to the most cruel tortures, and put to a most painful death, taken about the towns naked on wagons, and pierced and stabbed by the executioners with red-hot irons. Then they were strung up to the top of a ship's mast as traitors, beheaded, torn limb from limb and quartered by the hangman, and their limbs were thereafter hung up at the gates of towns and burghs as a warning to other traitors, while their heads were set up on high on iron spikes on the most conspicuous high places of towns and cities. Except, however, two of the said traitors' accomplices, brothers-german of the name of Barclay of Tyntis Muir, who secretly escaped into France and, being recognised in Brittany, were taken and brought to the most noble duke John; and the duke, informed

of the crime, put them to death in such wise as described above. And thus not a single one escaped. After his death, I verily believe, he did not leave his equal in all Christendom for benefiting a kingdom and governing a state. He was so intelligent that he knew all things, understood all things, honoured the church, befriended artizans and farmers, protected husbandmen and wished to champion the poor, children, widows, orphans and all wretched persons. Oh mournful, strange and pitiful and woful Death, which spareth no excellence, nay, snatcheth all things without distinction! The judgments of God are, many of them, unfathomable. For, as the heaven is higher than the earth, so are His ways than the ways of men and His thoughts than their thoughts. But alas that our kings should so often be young men in whose time justice is often halting; and the reason of this is that they are not wise nor skilful to recognise the way of equity and justice. As holy men say, A prince unlettered is a crowned ass; because unlettered princes are blind. Again the prophet saith through the trumpet of the Lord, My people is led captive because they had no understanding, and their princes have perished. Princes who are ignorant appoint ignorant men as their officers of justice, and blind men who know nothing of wisdom, knowledge or common sense. The reason is that the nobles of Scotland will not stoop to acquire knowledge. But how can any one know letters unless he has first learnt them? Therefore justice is weak and lukewarm in the kingdom of Scotland, through the defect of youthful kings and unwise barons, I am sorry to say. As, however, for want of justice many perish with hunger, a certain hungerer and thirster after justice has compiled in our vernacular a lesson for ignorant judges, as follows.

CHAPTER XI.

A morality representing the state of a kingdom by the figure of a harp.[11]

THE END.

NOTES.

(As this Chronicle purports to be an abridgment of Bower's *Scotichronicon*, the Editor has thought it best to confine himself to pointing out in the Notes where it differs from, or adds something to, Bower's text, and to correcting corrupt passages. The references to Bower are to Walter Goodall's edition of the *Scotichronicon*, dated 1759.)

BOOK VI.

Page 2, note 1.—Namely, Bower's *Scotichronicon*, of which this work is an abridgment.

Page 3, n. 2.—In text, vol. i. p. 5, l. 1, "deinde" should be "dictum."

Page 4, n. 3.—In text, vol. i. p. 6, l. 17, "ante Christi" should be "Antichristi."

Page 5, n. 4.—In text, vol. i. p. 7, l. 27, "cum" should be "contra."

Page 6, n. 5.—In text, vol. i. p. 7, last line but one, "quem" should be "quum."

Page 6, n. 6.—Bower, i. 328, has "Edredus."

Page 6, n. 7.—Bower, i. 447, makes him his grandson.

Page 6, n. 8.—Bower, i. 448, says "Malcolm was the son of Macheth, but lyingly called himself the son of Angus, earl of Moray."

Page 7, n. 9.—In text, vol. i. p. 8, line 3 from bottom, "trucidatur" should be "truditur."

Page 7, n. 10.—Bower, i. 448, says "by some of King Malcolm's lieges."

Page 7, n. 11.—In text, vol. i. p. 9, l. 6, "M°liiii" should be "Mcliiii."

Page 8, n. 12.—Bower, i. 449, says "grandfather."

Page 9, n. 13.—Bower, i. 450, says "as a hostage."

Page 9, n. 14.—Bower (*ib.*) says "by the advice of his friends."

Page 10, n. 15.—Compare Bower, i. 452.

Page 10, n. 16.—Bower, i. 452, says "by a few countrymen."

Page 11, n. 17.—Arthur is evidently confounded with William, son of Henry I., who is stated in a former passage (see Bower, i. 284) to have so perished. Arthur's death is mentioned in Bower, i. 453, 517, and ii. 11. In text, vol. i. p. 13, l. 26, "quia" is redundant.

Page 11, n. 18.—See Bower, ii. 514-5.

Page 13, n. 19.—Bower, i. 457, gives a correct version of these lines.

Page 17, n. 20.—Bower, i. 470, has "montanos."

Page 17, n. 21.—In text, vol. i. p. 19, line 6 from bottom, "expugnavit" should be "oppugnavit," and p. 21, l. 14, "expugnaverat" should be "oppugnaverat."

Page 17, n. 22.—In text, vol. i. p. 21, l. 1, "incidit" should be "incedit."

Page 18, n. 23.—Compare Bower, i. 471.

Page 20, n. 24.—Compare Bower, i. 473.

Page 20, n. 25.—In text, vol. i p. 24, l. 2, after "Cronicis" add "reperi."

Page 23, n. 26.—In text, vol. i. p. 27, l. 5, after "alienum" supply "debitum."

Page 24, n. 27.—In text, vol. i. p. 27, last line, "intentor" should be "incentor." The letters "c" and "t" are frequently substituted one for the other in the MSS.

Page 24, n. 28.—See Bower, i. 475, 478.

Page 24, n. 29.—Bower, i. 479, says Macwilliam's real name was Donald Bane.

Page 25, n. 30.—In text, vol. i. p. 29, l. 23, after "Flandrenses" supply "opem."

Page 25, n. 31.—Bower, i. 490, has "Cumberland, that is the earldom of Carlisle."

Page 25, n. 32.—Bower, *ib.*, does not say Gilbert was the cause of these troubles.

Page 26, n. 33.—In text, vol. i. p. 30, l. 19, after "exigentibus" supply "propter."

Page 26, n. 34.—That is to say, the brother of Rotholand's father, Othred.

Page 26, n. 35.—In text, vol. i. p. 30, l. 21, the words "pacem et amorem" belong to the next sentence.

Page 26, n. 36.—Bower, i. 492, calls him only "comes."

Page 26, n. 37.—Bower, *ib.*, says "daughter."

Page 26, n. 38.—Bower, *ib.*, says it was another daughter who was married to Robert Bruce.

Page 26, n. 39.—Bower, *ib.*, has "comite Laodensi," to whom Margaret was married. In text, vol. i. p. 31, l. 9, "magnum" should be "magna."

Page 27, n. 40.—Bower, i. 500, says only for the liberation of his body.

Page 28, n. 41.—Bower, i. 502, adds "et proceres."

Page 29, n. 42.—Namely, his capture on his way back from the Holy Land. In text, vol. i. p. 37, last line but one, "puerorum" should be "pravorum."

Page 29, n. 43.—Bower, i. 512, does not state that Roderick had been left to guard the country, but merely mentions that he was killed.

Page 29, n. 44.—Bower, *ib.*, says Sutherland, Caithness, and Ross. In text, vol. i. p. 40, l. 16, "Eboracensem" should be "Ebroicensem."

Page 30, n. 45.—The text, vol. i. p. 41, l. 4, adds "secundum," a mistake for Bower's "feria secunda" (i. 514). In line 11, "Berriannensem" should be "Berriam."

Page 31, n. 46.—Bower, i. 516, says "duo millia librarum argenti."

Page 32, n. 47.—Bower, i. 524, does not mention prelates. Compare his account, which differs slightly.

Page 33, n. 48.—Bower, i. 525, states that the bishop of Saint Andrews formed part of only this second embassy.

Page 33, n. 49.—Bower, *ib.*, mentions only one bishop.

Page 33, n. 50.—Bower, *ib.*, says "that bishop."

Page 33, n. 51.—There is here a break in the sense. Bower, i. 526, says that the Scots king yielded to the suggestion of his own people, and avoided a battle by endeavouring to comply with the request and wishes of the king of England.

Page 35, n. 52.—Bower, i. 527, says it was two years after.

Page 35, n. 53.—Dukes are not mentioned by Bower. In text, vol. i. p. 47, last line but two, "annotando" should be "connectendo."

Page 36, n. 54.—Bower, i. 531, calls him Gothred Macwilliam.

Page 38, n. 55.—This passage is corrupt in the text. Compare Bower, i. 534.

Page 38, n. 56.—Bower, i. 535, says in 1183.

Page 39, n. 57.—See p. 26, where, however, the marriage with Robert de Ross is not mentioned.

Page 40, n. 58.—Compare Bower, i. 522.

BOOK VII.

Page 42, n. 1.—Bower, ii. 4, says Alexander was crowned on Friday, and his father buried on the following Monday.

Page 43, n. 2.—In text, vol. i. p. 63, l. 8, the first "et" is redundant.

Page 43, n. 3.—In text, *ib.*, l. 22, "pulsati" should be "pulsatos." See Bower, i. 35.

Page 44, n. 4.—Bower, ii. 33, does not mention Inchmartin and Lindores.

Page 44, n. 5.—Compare Bower, ii. 33-4.

Page 44, n. 6.—Compare Bower, ii. 33-4.

Page 45, n. 7.—In text, vol. i. p. 65, l. 4, "reguli" is written in the MSS. by mistake for "regis in."

Page 45, n. 8.—In text, *ib.*, l. 14, "comitatus" should be "comitatum." See Bower, ii. 36.

Page 45, n. 9.—Bower, *ib.*, says "circa nonas Augusti."

Page 45, n. 10.—Bower, *ib.*, attributes these lines to the monk who is said to have poisoned King John.

Page 46, n. 11.—It was evidently intended to say that this Count was killed, as in Bower, ii. 38.

Page 46, n. 12.—This is related as a second expedition, whereas in Bower, ii. 38, it is simply a recapitulation.

Page 46, n. 13.—This is a misunderstanding of Bower's account, whose one arrival of Louis is thus made into two.

Page 47, n. 14.—This probably refers to Henry IV. when duke of Lancaster, to Percy earl of Northumberland, etc. See page 263.

Page 49, n. 15.—Bower, ii. 43, says nothing about an expedition to Galloway.

Page 50, n. 16.—Bower, ii. 47, does not say he was imprisoned.

Page 50, n. 17.—Bower, ii. 58, note, says Beauly was founded by John Bisset.

Page 54, n. 18.—Bower, ii. 82, says nothing about anointing. The statement that Alexander III. was his father's natural son is probably a garbling of a passage in Bower, ii. 81, where the word "naturalem" occurs.

Page 55, n. 19.—This prediction is not in Bower. It has been curiously fulfilled in the accession of the Stuart dynasty to the English throne.

Page 56, n. 20.—Bower, ii. 83, says a deal shrine.

Page 58, n. 21.—Bower, ii. 84, says the Scottish envoys were sent back accompanied by English envoys.

Page 58, n. 22.—In text, vol. i. p. 84, l. 18, "generis" should be "generi."

Page 59, n. 23.—Bower, ii. 84, does not mention this meeting, or the process by which the new councillors were chosen.

Page 59, n. 24.—Bower, ii. 85, has these words with reference to the second set of councillors.

Page 62, n. 25.—Compare Bower, ii. 87-8.

Page 66, n. 26.—Bower, ii. 91, does not state the relationship.

Page 72, n. 27.—Bower, ii. 101, says twenty-four.

Page 72, n. 28.—In text, vol. i. p. 99, last line, "inscriptis" should be "infrascriptis."

Page 72, n. 29.—Namely, those mentioned in the next sentence.

Page 74, n. 30.—In text, vol. i. p. 102, l. 7, "Heuwiz" should be "Leuwiz."

Page 74, n. 31.—Bower, ii. 103, says it was in 1265.

Page 75, n. 32.—In text, vol. i. p. 102, l. 25, "Heuwishauxe" should be "Eveshame."

Page 76, n. 33.—Bower, ii. 109, adds, "and a great many other nobles and knights."

Page 76, n. 34.—It should be "third." Bower, ii. 114, speaks of him as "the son of Robert Bruce, surnamed The Noble, lord of Annandale in Scotland and Cleveland in England." In the fifth line from the bottom, "third" should be "fourth."

Page 77, n. 35.—Namely, the lord of Annandale and Cleveland.

Page 77, n. 36.—It should be "fourth."

Page 78, n. 37.—In text, vol. i. p. 107, l. 4, "Eodem" should be omitted.

Page 78, n. 38.—Bower, ii. 122, says 50,000.

Page 78, n. 39.—Bower, ii. 123-4, does not mention this embassy.

Page 78, n. 40.—Bower, ii. 124, says the bishops of Norwich and Durham, the sheriff of Newcastle, and a great many knights and clergy, on behalf of the king of England, were at Tweedmouth. He does not say the king was there.

BOOK VIII.

Page 86, n. 1.—Bower, ii. 137, says 104, 80 from Scotland and 24 from England.

Page 87, n. 2.—Bower, ii. 138, has rightly "the daughter of the elder sister of the daughters of David."

Page 89, n. 3.—Bower, ii. 139, has, "one, say Titius, from the eldest daughter of the said brother."

Page 90, n. 4.—In text, vol. i. p. 124, l. 7, "potentes" should be "petentes."

Page 90, n. 5.—*Ib.*, l. 20, "votum" should be "locum."

Page 91, n. 6.—*Ib.*, p. 125, l. 9, "baronis" should be "baroniis."

Page 91, n. 7.—Compare Bower, ii. 140-1, who has "paribus" instead of "partibus," in lines 16 and last but two of text, vol. i. p. 125.

Page 93, n. 8.—In text, vol. i. p. 127, l. 25, "et sic hoc" should be "adhuc non." See Bower, ii. 142.

Page 94, n. 9.—In text, vol. i. p. 128, l. 20, "parte" should be omitted.

Page 94, n. 10.—*Ib.*, p. 129, l. 5, after "quæ," "si" should be added. See Bower, ii. 143.

Page 96, n. 11.—*Ib.*, p. 130, l. 6, the second "et" should be omitted. See Bower, ii. 144.

Page 96, n. 12.—*Ib.*, l. 28, "sic reformatum" should be "fit resortum." See Bower, ii. 144.

Page 97, n. 13.—A line is here dropped out in the text, vol. i. p. 131, l. 25, but is supplied from Bower, ii. 145.

Page 98, n. 14.—Bower, ii. 146, omits "France."

Page 98, n. 15.—Supply the words "habebant, ut" after "sui" in the text, vol. i. p. 133, l. 3.

Page 99, n. 16.—Bower, ii. 146, has "repulsos" for "Romanos."

Page 100, n. 17.—Bower, ii. 147, only says King Edward consulted with some of his Privy Council on the subject.

Page 100, n. 18.—This speech is a corruption of that given by Bower, ii. 147.

Page 101, n. 19.—Bower, ii. 147, only says he gave judgment in Balliol's favour.

Page 101, n. 20.—Bower, ii. 148, has "fifty."

Page 102, n. 21.—"Henricus" in the text, vol. i. p. 136, l. 16, is a mistake for "Ericius," as Bower, ii. 149, has it.

Page 103, n. 22.—Supply from Bower, ii. 149, "Who was the father of John, earl of the same, whose eldest daughter," etc.

Page 104, n. 23.—Namely, Dorvorgilla. Bower, ii. 150, has "ipsa" instead of "mater."

Page 104, n. 24.—"Mans," in first line of following page, is evidently a mistake for "Mortagne." With this alteration the statement in the text is more correct than Bower's (ii. 151), who implies that Maud had two husbands. King Stephen was count of Mortagne before he was king.

Page 105, n. 25.—It is mentioned above, in the part of this chapter omitted in this volume, that Henry v. died of the malady of Saint Fiacre.

Page 105, n. 26.—Bower, ii. 151, does not say "crowned."

Page 106, n. 27.—The text, vol. i. p. 141, l. 23, speaks of this as being in "parliamento Londonii" or "Laudonensi." This is evidently a mistake. Neither Fordun nor Bower mentions where this parliament was held. It was, no doubt, the one at Scone in 1294.

Page 106, n. 28.—Bower, ii. 152, has rightly 787.

Page 106, n. 29.—The Chronicler first compiled his work in 1461. The MS. selected as the text represents a later recension.

Page 106, n. 30.—Bower, ii. 152, gives Duncan as the name of the murdered earl of Fife, and Macduff as that of the brother.

Page 107, n. 31.—The word "sedens" in the text, vol. i. p. 142, l. 29, should be "sedente," to agree with Bower's account, ii. 153.

Page 107, n. 32.—The text, vol. i. p. 143, l. 21, has "Foulis" for "Soulis." See Bower, ii. 153.

Page 109, n. 33.—See Bower, ii. 154, for a fuller and slightly different version of the settlement.

Page 110, n. 34.—See Bower, ii. 155, for correct version of this passage.

Page 110, n. 35.—Vol. i. p. 146, l. 5, for "communiter" read "communitates," with Bower, ii. 155.
Page 110, n. 36.—See Bower, ii. 155, for correct version of this corrupt passage.
Page 111, n. 37.—Bower, ii. 159, says 1295.
Page 113, n. 38.—Bower, ii. 161, says "these lands and others."
Page 113, n. 39.—Bower, ii. 165, says Graham fell wounded in the battle.
Page 115, n. 40.—In text, vol. i. p. 152, l. 4, "præmissis" is probably for "prætermissis."
Page 116, n. 41.—Bower, ii. 169, does not mention this exception.
Page 118, n. 42.—In text, vol. i. p. 154, l. 17, "possidet" is for "possidetur." Bower, ii. 170, does not state this fact.
Page 118, n. 43.—Bower's account (ii. 171) differs from this.
Page 119, n. 44.—Bower, ii. 171, says he was wounded.
Page 119, n. 45.—Bower, ii. 172, says nothing about this distribution.
Page 122, n. 46.—Text, vol. i. p. 159, l. 4, read probably "ad amarum licorem bellorum se propinando disposuit."
Page 123, n. 47.—This passage is not in Bower (ii. 177), and is evidently a blunder.
Page 123, n. 48.—Bower, ii. 177, does not say it was sent by the procurators.
Page 125, n. 49.—In text, vol. i. p. 162, l. 17, omit "a." Compare Bower, ii. 178.
Page 126, n. 50.—Text, vol. i. p. 163, l. 22, is corrupt. Bower, ii. 179, gives this passage more correctly.
Page 128, n. 51.—Bower, ii. 180, calls him "Marcus."
Page 129, n. 52.—Bower, ii. 181, says "kingdom."
Page 129, n. 53.—In text, vol. i. p. 166, l. 25, "præciperat" should be "receperat." See Bower, ii. 182.
Page 130, n. 54.—In text, vol. i. p. 167, l. 24, "promittimus," "promittemus," and "promittere" should be "permittimus," "permittemus," and "permittere." See Bower, ii. 182.
Page 132, n. 55.—Bower, ii. 184, has "Iricio."
Page 133, n. 56.—In text, vol. i. p. 170, l. 26, "imperatricis" should be "imperatrici."
Page 133, n. 57.—Namely, the promise of the bishops, etc., of Scotland to rise against their king if he broke his oath (see previous chapter). Compare Bower, ii. 185.
Page 134, n. 58.—In text, vol. i. p. 171, l. 26, "Northumbriam" is for "Northampton." See Bower, ii. 186.
Page 134, n. 59.—In text, vol. i. p. 172, l. 20, "curatos" should be "certos." See Bower, ii. 187.
Page 136, n. 60.—In text, vol. i. p. 174, l. 7, read "nostri sunt, per leges se justificare," etc. See Bower, ii. 188.

Page 137, n. 61.—In text, vol. i. p. 175, l. 1, "nostri" should be "vestri." Bower, ii. 189.

Page 137, n. 62.—In same page of text, l. 4, "statutum" should be "statum."

Page 139, n. 63.—In text, vol. i. p. 176, l. 4 from bottom, "eciam" should be "etc."

Page 139, n. 64.—In next line of text "favet" should be "famæ." MS. E. has "favore."

Page 139, n. 65.—In next page of text, l. 7, "ecclesiæ" should be "ætatem." Bower, ii. 190.

Page 139, n. 66.—In same page of text, l. 17, after "vobis" supply "auxilium."

Page 142, n. 67.—In page 180 of text, l. 27, "mendacia" should be "mendicata." Bower, ii. 193. Throughout this lengthy document the version of Bower, ii. pp. 192-210, has been appealed to when the text has been too corrupt to admit of being literally translated.

Page 143, n. 68.—In page 181 of text, l. 10, "sibi" should be "sit." Bower, ii. 194.

Page 143, n. 69.—In same page of text, l. 21, after "præjudicium" supply "credi non debeat alienum, quantacunque rex ipse præemineat dignitate; sed præcipue in absencia." See Bower, ii. 194.

Page 144, n. 70.—In same page of text, l. 2 from bottom, after "judicem" supply "improbitas."

Page 145, n. 71.—In page 182 of text, l. 28, after "integram" supply "nullatenus obtineret." Bower, ii. 195.

Page 145, n. 72.—In next page of text, l. 4, read "pro suo coadjuvando proposito, colorata et."

Page 147, n. 73.—This passage is corrupt in text, p. 185. Compare Bower, ii. 197.

Page 151, n. 74.—In page 189 of text, l. 26, "diu" should be "domini." See Bower, ii. 200.

Page 153, n. 75.—Bower, ii. 202, says "by his own authority alone."

Page 156, n. 76.—Bower, ii. 205, does not say it was by the king's advice.

Page 163, n. 77.—Compare Bower's title, ii. 275.

Page 163, n. 78.—Bower adds, "Rogerus de Moubray."

Page 163, n. 79.—Bower adds, "Willelmus Oliphaunt."

Page 163, n. 80.—Bower adds, "Willelmus de Monte-Alto."

Page 165, n. 81.—In text, vol. i. p. 203, l. 24, read "sanat, liberati sumus per," etc.

Page 166, n. 82.—This case is a mere repetition, and is therefore omitted in this volume.

BOOK IX.

Page 168, n. 1.—Bower, ii. 221, does not mention the son.
Page 170, n. 2.—Bower, ii. 223, says fourpence.
Page 175, n. 3.—Bower, ii. 228, has "James Lindsay, together with Gilpatrick of Kirkpatrick."
Page 176, n. 4.—The text, vol. i. p. 230, l. 12, has "sexto Idus Aprilis" evidently by mistake, for the "sexto Kal. Aprilis" of Fordun and Bower, ii. 230.
Page 180, n. 5.—Bower, ii. 241, does not mention William.
Page 184, n. 6.—Bower, ii. 247, does not mention this.
Page 185, n. 7.—Namely, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray. Compare Bower, ii. 257.
Page 185, n. 8.—Bower, ii. 255, instead of "octies," says "regni sui VIII."—that he defeated him at Bannockburn in the eighth year of his reign, and at Biland in the sixteenth.
Page 186, n. 9.—Bower, ii. 259, says nothing of this.
Page 188, n. 10.—Bower, ii. 272, says Fordun.
Page 188, n. 11.—Bower, ii. 272, only says "The same year."
Page 188, n. 12.—Bower, ii. 272, calls him Malerb.
Page 189, n. 13.—This letter has been already given on p. 163.
Page 189, n. 14.—Bower, ii. 278, only says "a large army."
Page 190, n. 15.—Bower, ii. 278, puts the remark into the mouth of the earl of Warenne, and states, not that he was killed, but that he was taken prisoner and ransomed.
Page 192, n. 16.—Bower, ii. 288, says in 1327.
Page 193, n. 17.—Bower, ii. 289, dates this document from York.
Page 198, n. 18.—Bower, ii. 304, has VIII°. Idus.
Page 199, n. 19.—Bower, ii. 305, does not say this.
Page 199, n. 20.—Bower, ii. 305-6, does not mention Errol or Graham.
Page 199, n. 21.—This account differs slightly from Bower's.
Page 200, n. 22.—Bower, ii. 307, says "Radulphus baro de Stafford."
Page 200, n. 23.—Bower, ii. 307, says 600.
Page 200, n. 24.—Bower, ii. 307-8, calls him John Randolph.
Page 200, n. 25.—Bower, ii. 308, only says "D. Alexandrum de Bruce comitem de Carrick et D. Galwidiæ."
Page 200, n. 26.—Bower, ii. 308, says "Henry de Balliol, John Mowbray, Walter Cumyn and Richard Kirby."
Page 201, n. 27.—Bower, *ib.*, says "delivered from death."
Page 201, n. 28.—Bower, ii. 310, as well as some texts of Fordun, say "pridie Idus Aprilis."
Page 201, n. 29.—Bower, ii. 310, says "usque ad decimum quartum Kal. Augusti."

Page 201, n. 30.—Bower says "the day before the Feast of Margaret."

Page 202, n. 31.—In text, vol. i. p. 269, l. 12, "aut" should probably be "ut."

Page 202, n. 32.—That is, the Scots.

Page 203, n. 33.—In text, vol. i. p. 270, l. 18, "expulsus" should be "compulsus." Compare Bower, ii. 311.

Page 203, n. 34.—This should be "by the lord pope and the king of France to the king of England," as in Bower, ii. 312.

Page 204, n. 35.—Bower, ii. 313, says "sir Alan de Lile, sheriff of Bute and Cowell."

Page 205, n. 36.—Bower, ii. 313, calls him "Lambyn."

Page 210, n. 37.—Bower, ii. 318, says 90,000 horsemen and 180 ships.

Page 211, n. 38.—In text, vol. i. p. 279, l. 18, MS. E. has "Willelmi de Douglas frater Jacobus," which agrees with Bower, ii. 320, and is evidently right. William was not killed.

Page 211, n. 39.—In text, vol. i. p. 279, l. 32, "infidelibus" is for "in fidelibus."

Page 213, n. 40.—Bower, ii. 323, says they were ordered to do a part only of the work. In text, vol. i. p. 285, l. 29, "præmissum" is for "promissum."

Page 219, n. 40a.—The Latin text here is corrupt; comp. Bower, ii. 230.

Page 221, n. 41.—Bower, ii. 334, says "non multum ibi nocuit."

Page 222, n. 42.—The words "in Scotland" are of course a mistake. Compare Bower, ii. 339.

Page 224, n. 43.—Bower, ii. 341, adds the Archbishop of York.

Page 227, n. 44.—That is to say, "defended the approaches to the castle." Bower, ii. 351, says they were unable to take the castle.

Page 229, n. 45.—Compare Cap. XV. in Bower, ii. 356. Bower only mentions Cumnock as the church where Macdowell swore fealty, and does not mention Kyle. He also says that King David failed to get his ransom, and went back to England.

Page 230, n. 46.—Taken at the battle of Cressy. See above, p. 223, and Bower, ii. 340.

Page 230, n. 47.—This passage is evidently corrupt in the text. Compare Bower, ii. 359.

Page 230, n. 48.—Bower, ii. 359, says "ten years."

Page 230, n. 49.—Bower only says "diu."

Page 232, n. 50.—Bower, ii. 366, calls him the earl's son.

Page 233, n. 51.—Bower, ii. 370, calls her the daughter of John Logie.

Page 234, n. 52.—Bower, ii. 380, says nothing of this proposed marriage.

BOOK X.

Page 237, n. 1.—These words must be supplied, as the text is corrupt.
Page 238, n. 2.—Bower, ii. 391, attributes the fire to the carelessness of a plumber.
Page 238, n. 3.—Bower, ii. 391, says he was born on the 24th October 1378.
Page 239, n. 4.—This title should evidently be, "Ambassadors sent to the king of France from Scotland." See Bower, ii. 392.
Page 243, n. 5.—Bower, ii. 392-5, gives a different version of this document.
Page 244, n. 6.—Bower, ii. 398, does not use this expression.
Page 245, n. 7.—Bower, ii. 399, gives a somewhat different account of this incident.
Page 246, n. 8.—Bower, ii. 400, says 800.
Page 246, n. 9.—Bower, ii. 400, says 400.
Page 247, n. 10.—Bower, ii. 402, says he would have done this had he not been dissuaded by the Duke of Lancaster.
Page 248, n. 11.—Bower, ii. 404, speaks of his father Archibald Douglas, not of the earl of Douglas.
Page 249, n. 12.—Bower, ii. 405, says it was St. Oswald's Day.
Page 250, n. 13.—Bower, ii. 405, says they were ordered to destroy the camp.
Page 252, n. 14.—Bower, ii. 415, says he died on the 19th April.
Page 252, n. 15.—Bower, *ib.*, says he reigned nineteen years and twenty-four days.
Page 253, n. 16.—Bower, ii. 420, says Duncan Stewart, son of sir Alexander, earl of Buchan, was the leader of the Caterans, not slain by them.
Page 253, n. 17.—Bower, ii. 420, gives a different account of this combat.
Page 254, n. 18.—Bower, ii. 422, connects Perth with the following sentence, not with the death of the coiner.
Page 254, n. 19.—This offer of a dukedom to Archibald Douglas is not mentioned by Bower.
Page 254, n. 20.—See note 16.
Page 255, n. 21.—Bower, ii. 428, calls her Marjory.
Page 259, n. 22.—Bower, ii. 433, calls him George.
Page 259, n. 23.—Bower, *ib.*, mentions only two.
Page 260, n. 24.—Bower, ii. 438, says this second injury was received at the battle of Shrewsbury.
Page 262, n. 25.—Bower, ii. 439, says nothing of this alleged reason.
Page 263, n. 26.—Bower, ii. 449, places this mission in 1417.
Page 264, n. 27.—Bower, ii. 447, calls him Patrick.

Page 265, n. 28.—From this point onwards this account, as being given by one who could get direct information from eye-witnesses, adds many particulars to that of Bower.

Page 265, n. 29.—Bower, ii. 459, says 7000.

Page 267, n. 30.—Bower, ii. 461, says 6000. Bower's whole account of the battle is somewhat different.

Page 267, n. 31.—Compare Bower, ii. 461. He says Sibbald took the earl of Huntingdon.

Page 269, n. 32.—Compare the account in Bower, ii. 462.

Page 271, n. 33.—Bower, ii. 463, says 6000 in all.

Page 277, n. 34.—All the MSS. break off here.

BOOK XI.

Page 278, n. 1.—"Filii," in text, vol. i. p. 369, l. 24, should of course be "patris."

Page 279, n. 2.—Compare the list of names in Bower, ii. 482.

Page 279, n. 3.—It should be "21st," as above, at the top of the page.

Page 280, n. 4.—Bower, ii. 483, does not say they were beheaded.

Page 281, n. 5.—Compare list in Bower, ii. 483-4.

Page 282, n. 6.—Bower, ii. 485, does not mention the king and queen of Sicily.

Page 285, n. 7.—Bower, ii. 495, has "Crawar."

Page 286, n. 8.—Bower, ii. 500, says parliament, after the death of King James I., granted him and his son 400 marks a year.

Page 288, n. 9.—Compare Bower, ii. 502. In text, vol. i. p. 381, l. 24, "inopina ea" is for "inopinata."

Page 288, n. 10.—For this metrical lament, see vol. i. p. 382. As it is in Scotch it is not repeated in this volume.

Page 291, n. 11.—For this poem, which also is in the Scotch vernacular, see vol. i. p. 392.

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INDEX.

ERRATA.

Vol. I.

Page 33, l. 15, *for* tempori *read* tempore.
33, l. 31, *for* regemsque *read* regemque.
33, l. 34, *for* acceptit *read* acceptis.
39, l. 31, *for* Lemonicas *read* Lemovicas.
56, l. 24, *for* latæ *read* late.
145, l. 30, *for* oportanum *read* opportunum.
153, l. 13, *for* segem *read* regem.
231, footnote 15, *for* per *read omit* per.

Vol. II.

38, last line, *for* Lothian *read* Loudoun.
44, l. 38, *for* Sawtreia *read* Sawtrey.
75, l. 9, *for* Lewisham *read* Evesham.

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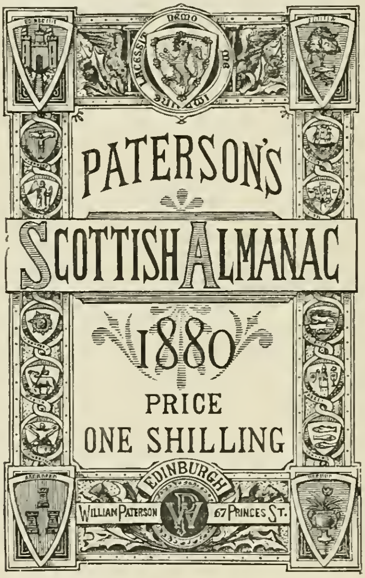
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